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Southern Aid Society of Va., Inc.

Presents a Condensed Financial Statement of its Business for 1929.

INCOME FOR 1929

Cash Bal. Brot. Fwd Jan. 1, 1929	$ 363,443.40	
Premiums and Sundry Accounts	840,040.70	
Total Receipts	$1,203,484.10	

DISBURSEMENTS FOR 1929

Claims paid to Policyholders	$ 414,023.66	
Investments and all other accounts	446,142.97	
Total disbursements	860,166.63	
Cash Balance, Dec. 31, 1929	343,317.47	
Total	$1,203,484.10	

ASSETS

Cash Balance	$ 343,417.47	
Bills Receivable	15,011.98	
Real Estate Mortgages	139,811.80	
Real Estate Mortgage Bonds	32,955.00	
Stocks and Bonds	44,495.95	
Real Estate	438,368.86	
Accrued Interest and Rents	6,758.89	
Net Uncollected Premiums	2,211.56	
Total Assets		$1,023,031.51

LIABILITIES

Capital Stock	$ 150,000.00	
Deposits—Employees	35,230.55	
Reserve for Unpaid Claims, Interest and Taxes	11,742.94	
Policy Reserve	525,901.00	
Mortgage assumed on Real Estate Purchased in 1929	40,000.00	
Sundry Ledger Accounts	15,052.00	
Total Liabilities		$ 777,926.49
Surplus		245,105.02
Total		$1,023,031.51

CAPITAL and SURPLUS	$ 395,105.02
Claims Paid to December 31, 1929	$5,596,264.20

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A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, *Editor*

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The April CRISIS will have accounts and portraits of more Negro officials; "They who wear the Mask" by Arthur J. Peel; a striking bit of fiction and stories of men of color who have succeeded. Also something of New York's Colored regiment.

As the Crow Flies

WE are beginning to feel that when Herbert Hoover says peace he means peace. It is so unusual for presidents of the United States to mean what they say that the Crow is sure he will pardon its hesitation.—By all means let Smedley Butler enforce prohibition. He slapped the faces of the Chinese; shot the Haitian legislature into disillusion, and swaggered around Philadelphia until he was kicked out. He is an ideal apostle of freedom.—Twenty-four persons in the United States have incomes of $5,000,000 or more a year, and 496 incomes of a million or more. The power of these persons over the destiny of this land and of the world is far greater than any similar power that Julius Caesar had and probably exceeds that of Napoleon Bonaparte; which shows that democracy still lives.—In England, they are whistling to keep their courage up, but they know quite well that India is lost to the British Empire.—We are still chuckling merrily over Tom Heflin and the Alabama election. To see this apostle of race purity outside the breastworks of the White Primary fills us with keen enjoyment.—During the last 3,400 years, some one has found that there have been 248 years of peace. This is more than we had thought. We were afraid that some little Punitive Expeditions have been forgotten.—The annual cost of the British fleet is $278,000,000, of the Japanese fleet, $131,000,000, of the French fleet, $99,000,000, and of the Italian fleet, $63,000,000; but the United States, champion of peace and democracy, spends $375,000,000 a year for battle boats.—A United States judge strongly suspects that Douglas Clyde Macintosh of the Yale Divinity School considers his allegiance to God greater than his obligation to fight for the United States. Therefore the Judge refused to let Mr. Macintosh become a citizen of this great country. Mr. Macintosh ought to rejoice.—Millions of Chinese are dying of starvation, but the Red Cross has decided to do nothing about it. After all, they are only Chinese.—After Calvin Coolidge's great word "Private ownership of property is a sovereign right," all of the economic thinkers of the world, past and present, should hang their diminished heads.—Sigmund Freud, the great psycho-analyst, greatly doubts the value of civilization. And looking the civilized countries carefully over just now we can see that he has some grounds for his argument.—Again we say that our own idea of a modest shrinking violet is Admiral Byrd. All white Southerners seem to be that way.—It is so pleasant to know that no panic followed the collapse of the stocks last fall. At the same time, there are a few million people in the United States just as hungry as though we had had a panic.—While as usual the rest of the world is arguing that modern methods of production can not be applied to agriculture, and that Russia's attempt to socialize farming must fail, Russia is going right ahead and succeeding. Which is to say the least, impolite.—Spain is going to try modern government again. Italy seems hopeless.

The CRISIS *is published monthly and copyrighted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 15 cents a copy, $1.50 a year. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.*

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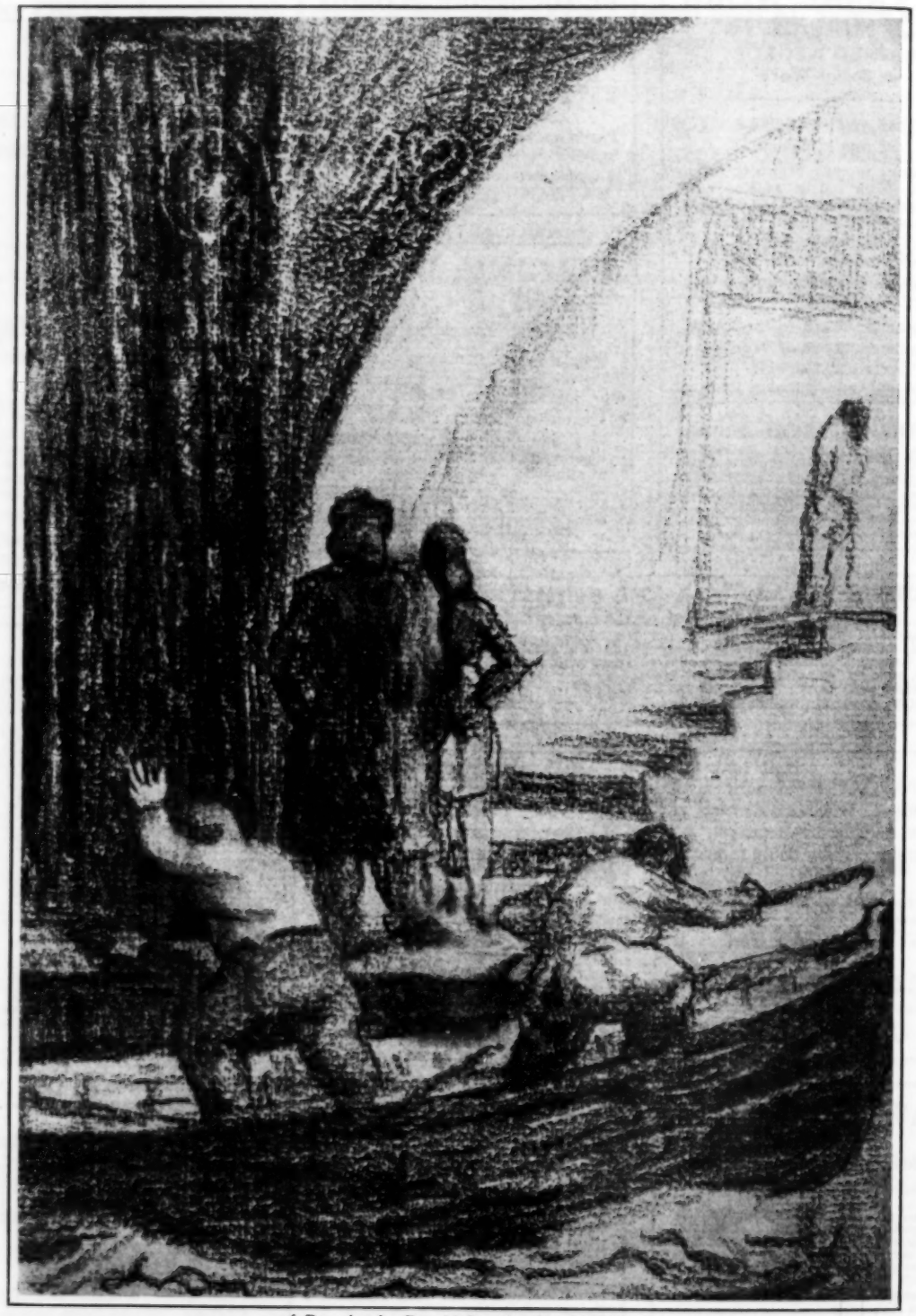

A Drawing by Ronald Joseph. *See page 99*

Race-Crossings in the United States

By CAROLINE BOND DAY

Here is an account of the results of three scientific studies of race intermixture in the United States done by graduate students at Harvard and Chicago universities.

ONE of the phases of the race problem which is of vital interest to the public, yet least written about, is the question of intermarriage and race mixture. Few popular writers have dared attempt the subject and few scientists have had sufficient material at their disposal to warrant venturing conclusions.

At the present time, however, there are three unpublished studies on this subject which might prove interesting if reviewed in a cursory manner. One of them is an article entitled "The Social Significance of the Intermixture of Races in the Colonial and National Period," by James H. Johnston, Jr.; another is entitled "Race Crosses," by George T. Dixon, and both are careful analyses of the subject from the historical and literary standpoints, respectively. The first, a scholarly study which served as a thesis for the M. A. degree of the author at Chicago University, is a careful compilation of data taken from innumerable old records and arranged into a most coherent and illuminative treatise. The latter is a thorough and comprehensive survey of more recent literature, covering the ground from approximately the period between 1864 to 1926. This work was also done under the supervision of the Department of Anthropology of Chicago University. The third is the report of an original investigation made by myself under the auspices of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College,* and has as its subject "The Sociological, Geneological and Physiological Aspects of Negro-White Crosses in the United States." The emphasis here is placed on such data as was obtained from living subjects in 1927-8, in contrast to that of the other two papers which consist largely of evidence from documents and other treatises.

As it happens, these three articles form a chronological trio in that they cover, through their bibliographies (which, in the first two instances, are very extensive) what has been said and done in this field in the United States from colonial times to the present. Furthermore, it is significant that although these studies were prepared independently, there is a continuity of thought running through them which, to a slight extent, amounts to overlapping. They might be listed, therefore, in the following chronological order:

1. "The Social Significance of the Intermixture of Races in the Colonial and National Period". 1630-1864
2. "Race Crosses" 1864-1926
3. "The Sociological, Geneological, and Physiological Significance of Negro-White Crosses in the United States..... 1926-1929

In the first article of the series Mr. Johnson has analyzed the immense mass of data gathered on his subject.

Upon the question of the intermixture between Negroes and Indians, the significant points of interest to me are the facts, first, that during the Colonial Period the same attitude of mind was exercised toward the Indian as toward the Negro on the part of the white man, and second, that there was an extremely sympathtic attitude existing between Negroes and Indians. These points are illustrated by the following quotation from Mr. Johnston: "In the colonial period there was also much mixture of the Indian with the Negro, both the slave and free Negro. Sympathies existed between the two races. It is interesting to note that in the massacre of 1622, not a Negro was slain. Neither law nor social barriers forbade the intermixture of the Indian and the Negro, both shared the antipathies of the white man, while as slaves their treatment differed in no essential degree. Conditions of their life, slave and free, often led to the union of these races, also the final extinction of Indian Slavery was, in part, due to the absorption of the Indian Slave by the more numerous Negro."

Concerning Negro and Indian marriages, one of the interesting quotations which he gives from other sources is the following from E. A. Kendell in "Travels Through the Northern Part of the United States." "There was much of Negro and Indian intermixture in New Jersey and Massachusetts. The fact that in Massachusetts the children of an Indian mother would be declared free is said to have served as a temptation to the Negro to take Indian wives."

Under the larger topic of intermixture between Negroes and Whites Mr. Johnston begins his treatment by citing specific laws against intermarriage such as those made in Maryland in 1664, and in Virginia 1671. He stresses the significance of those laws. Then he traces the development of the present attitude of the South on this question as it grew through two centuries of a system of concubinage. Many interesting side-lights are thrown on this system by quotations from a successive series of letters, memoirs and records of the times. He also cites specific cases of individuals which are supported by ample documentary evidence before advancing any of the generalizations which he makes.

Perhaps however, one of the most pertinent conclusions reached concerning this long era of attempted repression of human passion is not given by Mr. Johnston himself, but is one which he quotes from the Edinburgh Review of March 1827 and which reads as follows:

"Contemporary testimony seems to support the belief that the long established laws prohibiting intermarriage between Negroes and whites tended to increase rather than to hinder the intermixture of races."

Mr. Dixon deals also with the same three groups of crossings as does Mr. Johnston, namely, Negroes and whites, Negroes and Indians, and Indians and whites. However, he considers them purely from the standpoint of the physical anthropologist, whereas Mr. Johnston's material is more that of the sociologist and the historian.

Mr. Dixon says of his own paper: "It is largely a review of the literature upon the subject, with an attempt to present the evidence in a brief and concise form. Unfortunately very little constructive work has been done upon the subject. There are few records of extended measurements and genealogies, which would allow for compilation and comparison with the work of others. Most of the literature contains merely hypotheses and opinions based upon casual observations. How largely these opinions are colored by the personal views of the authors is impossible to state."

Nevertheless, he gives us a most careful analysis of the works of such writers as Boaz, Davenport, Reuter, Rowe, Castle and Herskovitz, and then as a result of his own study he advances the following summary and conclusions:

"So little definite work has been done upon the subject and so few cases studied, in which genealogies have

* This research was done under the direction of Dr. E. A. Hooton of the Department of Anthropology, Harvard University.

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been obtained, that we can draw few definite conclusions. In many cases results contradict each other. In some instances students have assumed that they were dealing with mixtures of pure-bloods, when in reality there had been previous intermixture, which fact has materially colored the results obtained. How far environmental and sociological factors have entered in to alter results is not yet known. We are not agreed on all the criteria of race, nor have we any satisfactory method of measuring intelligence. Not being able to definitely analyze the pure-blood race, we are still farther afield and encounter numerous other problems in our study of the hybrid groups."

However, the data presented seems to Mr. Dixon to substantiate the following tentative conclusions:

1. In general hybrids tend to be intermediate to the parents in general body form and all other characteristics which are not usually considered distinctly racial.

2. In skin color the tendency is for the hybrid to more closely approach the darker parent. This is explained by the fact that he has inherited a positive skin pigmentation on one side and a blank on the other.

3. In regard to hair, the exceptions to any rule, which might be formulated, seem too numerous to make the statement interesting.

4. Hybrids are as fertile as the parent races. If there is any difference, it seems to be in favor of the hybrid race.

5. Variability within the group is very much higher than in the full-blood races.

6. In general the hybrid is more intelligent than the more backward of the two full-blooded races. However, this fact seems accounted for by the difference in environmental conditions and social status and not as the result of inheritance.

The third paper of the series furnishes just the material which Mr. Dixon at the time of writing his article, felt was lacking. It represents a genealogical study of a limited number of families of mixed blood. While it proposes to be a study of the mulatto family (to use the term loosely) it also involves, naturally, the records of many Indian-Negro and Indian-White unions, as well as the Negro-White crosses.

We have records of 2,537 adults included in this series, representing 346 families. This material was gathered by the questionnaire method, and records substantiating their evidence are on file at the Peabody Museum at Harvard University.

Naturally the sociological topics of this paper coordinate with certain general theories brought out in Mr. Johnston's work. But a consideration of the physiological characteristics of the group, under such headings as "Personal Appearance", and "Health", brings us into the field of physical anthropology as does Mr. Dixon's article. A discussion of the latter type of scientific investigation involves, however, an explanation of terminology and scientific laws which the length of this article does not permit. Furthermore, my findings from real life in this field are with one exception, so similar to Mr. Dixon's conclusion that with reference only to that exception, I shall pass on to the other more general subject matter.

He states as the second item of his conclusions, that there is a tendency for the hybrid to approach the skin color of the darker parent. While this may seem plausible theoretically, I have not observed it to be true. In primary crosses between white and blacks the skin color is usually intermediate. In second and third generations crosses between the mulattoes studied here, there is much variability, but as many of the offspring resemble the fairer parents as the darker. In fact, we have observed a tendency on the part of mixed bloods in this country to "breed white" as we say.

Let us then look at some of the facts brought out by the testimonies of the questionnaires which are substantiated by the documentary evidence from the first article.

First, the large admixture of Indian blood as reported by half of the Negroes questioned, seems most plausible in the light of the laws and customs mentioned above.

Another interesting feature which our summaries disclose is the high percentage of persons of mixed blood who have been absorbed into the white group with or without knowledge of this blood. About 20 per cent of these families in this group have one or more members who are "passing" as it is commonly called. This does not include those who temporarily leave the family ranks for economic or other reasons of convenience, and eventually return. One of the greatest handicaps in collecting this material was caused by the reluctance of the members of such families to place on record any information which might serve later as a means of identifying such relatives.

Contrary to the popular idea, that one must be a quadroon or an octoroon to "pass," some persons of little more than one-half white blood (particularly if there be a slight strain of Indian) are frequently mistaken for Europeans, and are often addressed as Spaniards or Italians. This is a point on which the American public seems to be most stupid. One reason no doubt is the fact that many Negroes themselves have been mistaken in their calculations and when questioned have misrepresented themselves as having from an eighth to a fourth more white blood than they really possess.

A large part of this misapprehension has been caused by a lack of knowledge of the laws of inheritance. The extreme variability sometimes seen in the third generation crossings of mulattoes, may produce two brothers of very different types, one of whom might be easily considered an octoroon and the other a mulatto. These persons of the fairer type, then, when referred to by distant descendants, have, sometimes, been identified as quadroons or octoroons until evidence from some other branch of the family, or friends of the family have counteracted this opinion. Hence, the almost incredible amount of "passing" done in this country is readily understood when we realize that if persons of approximately only one-half white blood can be mistaken for quadroons or octoroons, certainly the quadroons and octoroons have long ceased to be suspected of identification with this group at all.

Mr. Johnston tells the ridiculous story of one Monsieur Dukey from New Orleans, who visited the city of Memphis in the year of 1838, and who, because of his charming personality was received by the best society, entertained elaborately, and made the recipient of many favors. He then returned home, laid aside his grand manner, and his French name, and resumed his real role of quadroon barber. Many such instances sufficiently far removed by time, might be quoted to show the gullibility of the white man then as now, when he refuses to believe that a person of culture, charm and physical attractions can have any appreciable amount of Negro blood.

Again, our evidence that the volume of white blood inherited by this group is not all from the poorer class of whites or from white males, is augmented by Mr. Johnston's records of settlements of money and grants of land shown on county records by prominent white citizens in the colonial and national periods. Out of our group of 346 families, 114 of them bore the names and had some personal reminiscence of their white progenitors. In 76 cases there were heirlooms, photographs, and in some cases other unmistakable proof of these relationships. There were twenty instances of white mothers, 11 of these, however, were foreign born.

Other points of interest which we found by the summarizing of these

(*Will you please turn to page* 103)

The Negro Worker: A Problem of Progressive Labor Action

By ABRAM L. HARRIS

THE task of progressive labor action is the organization of those workers who have been neglected by traditional trade unionism; the rehabilitation of unionism in those industries where it has petered out or failed to establish control because of lethargic and self-satisfied leadership which refuses to recognize the inadequacy of craft unionism in such highly integrated and mechanized industries as packing, steel, rubber and automobiles; the stimulation of an offensive against the open shop, company union, employee welfare capitalism of the trustified industries; and weaning labor of subservience to the two major political parties in order to create independent working-class political action. None of these purposes can be accomplished without first creating a greater degree of solidarity than now exists among the workers.

The two great obstacles to labor solidarity are the psychology of craft unionism and the psychology of race prejudice. White workers both organized and unorganized have sought time and again to prohibit the employment of Negro workers, or to limit it to menial occupations or to those jobs that offered little direct competition. They have tried to reduce Negro labor to a class of non-competitors. The employers although not free from race antipathy themselves have not hesitated to exploit it as a means of carrying out a policy of *Divide and rule*. Thus during the early period of capitalistic development in steel, packing, coal and shipping, the employers used Negro labor only spasmodically, in case of a strike, or in a period of industrial expansion when the supply of foreigh labor was insufficient to meet the emergency, or because foreign labor had learned the necessity of unionization. Between 1880 and 1915 southern Negro labor was something of an industrial reserve for many basic industries. This reserve was not chiefly agricultural as is often thought. Its background was agricultural but in the eighties Negroes began to move gradually from the rural sections to the cities of the South, thence to northern industrial centers as occasion warranted.

In 1915 huge waves of this southern Negro labor poured in to northern industries when large numbers of our recent immigrants returned to their former homes to answer the call to arms. More of this labor drifted north when the United States entered the war in response to the demand created by industrial expansion. And after the war it continued to come because of the cessation of foreign immigration, and because employers, traditionally hostile to the employment of Negroes awoke to their value in breaking strikes or in defeating the purposes of unionism. And Negro workers undisciplined in collective bargaining, ignorant of trade union traditions, distrustful of white workers especially when organized, and led by opportunist leaders nurtured upon philanthropy and the doles of the rich, not only accepted struck jobs with impunity, but accepted the employer's terms as to wages and working conditions, chief of which was non-membership in trade unions, as a long denied opportunity for the mitigation of economic thraldom.

These changes of Negro labor from south to north, from domestic and small industrial employment to capitalistic industry occasioned much bitterness between Negro and white workers, as was exhibited in the Chicago and East St. Louis race riots. But one wonders why astute trade union leaders had not foreseen in the sporadic employment of Negro strike-breakers in the early industrial development, the uses to which they might be put at some later time. For example, the once militant but now almost shattered United Mine Workers saw that their ability to control the northern coal fields was dependent upon the degree to which organization was affected among both white and black miners in the southern fields. Although the union failed to accomplish its aim, it recognized the necessity of organizing both white and black miners inasmuch as Negro mine labor was not only employed in West Virginia, Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee but had a long history dating back to the 80's in the breaking of strikes in Illinois, Pennsylvania and Ohio. Had similar strategy been employed by other unions, it is not at all unlikely that a least the seeds of working-class solidarity would have been sown among Negro and white masses before the exodus to the north.

The fact that Negro labor was chiefly unskilled meant that it had no place in a labor movement that was

This article, which is published simultaneously in THE CRISIS *and the Labor Age, is a report to the Committee on Progressive Labor Action. Mr. Harris is an instructor in Economics in Howard University and is studying at present on a Rosenwald Fellowship at Columbia. Mr. Harris' main conclusions are as follows:*

1. *Intelligent appraisal of concrete situations where Negro and white workers are brought together, to determine the best way to bring about efficient cooperation between them.*
2. *Recognition of the right of Negro workers to union membership and to participation in labor, political, cooperative and educational activities on the same terms as white workers.*
3. *Vigorous efforts to organize Negroes as well as white workers in all trades and industries, especially in the basic industries employing large masses of semi-skilled and unskilled workers.*
4. *Building a Labor Party which will connect the Negroes' special racial demands with its broader economic and social reforms.*
5. *Special study of the problems of Negro workers by local branches of the C. P. L. A., and the establishment wherever it seems advisable of special committees or conferences including both Negro and white workers and labor sympathizers.*
6. *Promotion of educational work among both white and Negro workers to show how race prejudice is fatal to their economic interests and social welfare.*
7. *Promotion of a thoroughgoing and persistent workers' education movement among Negro workers. Such a movement would explain to them our modern industrial system, and the history, aims, achievements and possibilities of organized labor. It would also seek to break down the influence of opportunistic, middle-class leaders among the Negroes who are trying to build up a Negro petty capitalism, and who teach Negro workers that their economic interest lies on the side of the employer rather than that of their fellow workers, and that their national interest is best protected by the Republican Party.*

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based upon skilled craftsmanship, despite the fact that it could be used, thanks to the increasing mechanization of heavy industries, to defeat the purposes of unionism. This applies with almost equal force to the organization of the unskilled white workers. Such unions as the machinists, the boilermakers, the blacksmiths, the molders, the plumbers, the sheet metal workers, and the tile workers were never too friendly to their less skilled brother, the white helper. As a matter of fact these unions for a long time opposed the admission of the white helper and sought to confirm his status in order to preserve their monopoly of the job. Some of these unions that were most bitter to the white helper were likewise hostile to the Negro. They sought to forestall Negro competition by excluding Negro mechanics from the union. So clauses were written to that effect in the union's constitution or ritual. And many unions like the carpenters, the bricklayers, the confectionery workers, and the hotel workers, that had no constitutional barriers against Negro membership and that felt keen competition from the traditional employment of Negroes, were forced to organize them into segregated locals; or leave them out of the union as the leaders of the molders did in Nashville, Tennessee, because the white molders objected to the organization of the Negro and because the Negroes were afraid of being discharged once they had joined the union.

Today there were not less than 26 unions whose constitutions or rituals limit membership to white men. They are the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, the Switchmen of North America, the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks and Freight Handlers, the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors, the Order of Railway Telegraphers, the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of North America, the Railway Mail Association, the Wire Weavers Protective Association, the Commercial Telegraphers, the Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers Union, the International Association of Machinists, the Brotherhood of Dining Car Conductors, the Order of Railway Expressmen, the American Federation of Express Workers, the American Federation of Railroad Workers, the Brotherhood of Railroad Station Employees and Clerks, the Train Dispatchers, the Railroad Yard Masters of America, the Neptune Association, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

Ten of the above unions are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which has appealed to them to lower the barriers to Negro admission. Those unions that have responded were forced to do so because of increasing Negro competition. But their response has usually taken the form of separate organization characterized by one or all of the following discriminations: Negroes are to be organized into auxiliary locals but only where their employment has become traditional; the auxiliary locals of Negro members are to be subordinate to the nearest white local; Negro members may not transfer to white locals; they are not eligible for office; they may not be promoted to skilled work; or they are represented in conventions or conferences only by white members. This is the kind of response that the Carmen, and the Blacksmiths made to the appeals of the Federation.

The Boilermakers have not as yet decided how they will respond. But in deference to the sacrosanct doctrine of trade autonomy, the Federation officials accepted these half-measures as something of a victory, which firmly established the Federation's claim of organizing all workers regardless of race. At one time the Executive Council was decidedly opposed to the affiliation of unions that openly debarred Negro workers. This attitude delayed the admission of the Machinists. And it has been said that it was also a factor in the Federation's refusal to accept one of the railroad brotherhoods. But the Machinists were admitted and without relinquishing the right to debar Negroes of the craft.

The Federation sought to circumvent the racial discrimination of its affiliated bodies by empowering the Executive Council to charter directly local and federal unions of Negro workers who are debarred from the union of their craft, or who are unskilled and, therefore, unorganizable into craft unions. This moral gesture has not materially improved Negro organization or increased Negro trade union affiliation.

In the first place the responsibility for the members of a Negro local obtaining the prevailing wage is liable to fall upon the very union that denies them admission; and the Federation which is the "international" of such Negro locals, as it has been claimed surely cannot force a local of a national or international union to handle the wage grievances of one of its directly chartered Negro locals. In the second place these locals of Negro workers usually become dues paying entities that are separated from the main currents of the trade union world. In the third place the leaders of the Federation have been too well satisfied with meager results to vigorously push organization among Negroes. And in the fourth place when persons inside and outside of the Federation have called attention to the weakness of its Negro organizational policy, it has merely passed resolutions, or congratulated itself that it could find no fault with its past methods and results. Yet of the hundreds of Negro locals and federal unions organized by the Federation between 1917 and 1924, there are not more than 22 at present.

Instead of merely passing resolutions expressing a desire to see more Negroes in the labor movement, as it did at its recent and previous conventions, the Federation should inquire into the reasons for its past ineffectiveness among the unorganized white and black workers. It should seek to establish some definitive machinery for bringing about greater cooperation among Negroes and whites in the labor movement. A part of such machinery should certainly have been incorporated in its program of workers' education long ago. A proposal of this kind emanated from one of the conventions of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People a few years back but failed to provoke any response from the A. F. of L. leaders.

To effect a rapprochement between white and black labor is, of course, no simple task. But what the leadership of organized labor needs to be censured for is not its failure to effect greater harmony but its refusal to make some attempt toward a realistic understanding of the problem and the issues involved. If progressives in their turn are to make headway in bringing Negro and white workers into closer alignment for economic and political action they must first understand the difficulties and prepare to remove them. This is what conventional trade unionism has failed to do.

The known Negro trade union membership was about 45,000 in 1926. If the membership of the independent Negro unions, chiefly paper unions, are included the total membership was about 56,000. According to the census for 1930 there were almost 1,300,000 Negroes employed in transportation, extraction of minerals and manufacturing. So Negro workers, including those above ten years of age, were about 4.3 per cent organized. But only 20.8 per cent of all American wage-earners, excluding agricultural workers, are trade union members. The Negro is only about a fifth as well organized as all workers. When skill is made a prerequisite for trade union affiliation, less than 16.6 per cent of the 825,000 Negroes employed in manufacturing industries are available for affiliation, since 68 per cent of them were un-

skilled and 15.5 per cent semi-skilled.

Moreover those industries where trade unionism is weakest having capitulated to the offensive of welfare capitalism, or where craft unionism can make little headway because of integration and specialization have the greatest number of Negro workers. For example, in iron and steel there were 106,000 unskilled and 24,000 semi-skilled Negroes in 1920; in the food industries, mainly packing, there were 28,000 unskilled and 16,000 semi-skilled; in textiles, there were 18,000 unskilled and 8,000 semi-skilled; in lumber and furniture, 107,000 unskilled; and in tobacco 20,000 semi-skilled and 21,000 unskilled Negroes. A labor movement which avoids the unpleasant job of going into these industries because the workers have manifested no desire for organization or because organization will take time and money, is both timid and reactionary, and will become the victim of its own inertia. It is the task of progressives to precipitate action among the workers in these industries. And effective action cannot ignore the position of Negro labor if for no other reason than that organized white labor is fully protected only when Negro and white workers are equally organized. That there are obstacles in the way of unity between white and black labor, progressives need not deny, but they should deny that these obstacles are insuperable.

This denial should not take the form of the radicals' stock-in-trade generalization about the solidarity of economic interest between white and black workers. It should be embodied in intelligent appraisals of situations where Negroes and whites are being brought or have been brought into industrial relationship. In such situations it would develop upon progressives to show white and black workers how race prejudice defeats their mutual welfare.

In this connection special mention may be made of the situation in the South. It is the opinion of certain white workers there that "the two races should have separate, distinct labor organizations connected by central bodies composed of representatives of both races." It has been remarked that this "is an advance over the short-sighted, opportunistic policy which is still in vogue in most white labor circles," namely, that of excluding negro workers from unions altogether or at any rate being indifferent to the needs of this group.

It will have to be borne in mind that there are dangers connected with anything which may lead to the development of a bi-racial movement. White employers are not actuated by racial interests. They will not hesitate to use white labor versus black, and vice-versa. Certainly in the long run white and black labor cannot rise "to the highest position in the economic order apart from each other." Nevertheless, vague, fine-sounding idealistic phrases are not helpful in solving the problem. We emphasize that intelligent appraisals of concrete situations where Negroes and whites are being brought into industrial relationship are essential.

But this is not all. The sympathy of groups of Negro workers who can lead the masses of their fellows must be won. To do this progressives will have to begin from the bottom and build up. They must carry to the Negro workers some understanding of modern industrialism and the position of the worker under it, remembering that the Negro is of recent industrial experience. Finally, progressives must realize that Negro economic and political leadership is opportunistic and petty bourgeois. On the political side it teaches the masses that their national interest is best protected by the Republican party; and that in local political matters they should follow the policy of rewarding their friends and punishing their enemies. Being economically weak the Negro like all such classes has looked to legislation for the removal of the social and economic disadvantages from which he suffers. A labor party which would connect the Negro's special racial demands with its broader economic and social reforms can in time wean large sections of the Negro workers from the major parties. On the economic side, the Negro masses have been taught that their welfare is best promoted by adopting a conciliatory attitude to those who control industrial and economic opportunity, through subservience to the wealthy and through the establishment of a sort of self-sufficient Negro petty capitalism.

Here the progressives must show the Negro masses that their problem like that of the white masses, is inevitably that of work and wages. For even if the Negro leaders who look upon the creation of Negro financial and business enterprise as the economic salvation of the Negro masses, are successful in realizing their ideal, the institutions that they hope to establish are to be run on the basis of economic individualism and private profit, despite the tendency of these leaders to confuse "racial co-operation in business" with genuine consumers' cooperation. The success of a Negro petty capitalism will merely give economic reality to our contemporary Negro bourgeoisie which is temperamentally detached from the realities of working class life. But however successful Negro business enterprise may be, and whether it proceeds on a quasi-self-sufficient racial basis or takes its chances for survival in the general competitive arena, it must in the nature of things remain a diminutive force in modern industrialism, which is to say, that its much heralded power for mitigating the stress of Negro unemployment will be inconsequential. The great masses of Negro workers will continue to find their employment with those who now control finance and industry. And the few Negroes who will obtain work at the hands of the black capitalists of the tomorrow will not thereby cease to be wage-earners. Their problem will merely be shifted from the center of modern economic life where white capitalists dominate to the margin where small Negro enterprisers eke out the wages of management.

Thus progressives carry to the Negro masses some realization of the causes of unemployment, low wages, and the need for labor unionism and co-operation, in general; and of the reasons that explain the special severity of industrial disadvantage upon them as a racial group, in particular. But none of these lessons will take root if they are presented spasmodically and, above all, if white workers are unwilling to accept Negroes into working-class fellowship. As great as these difficulties may seem, a policy of letting well enough alone or procrastination will never overcome them. Progressives will therefore do well to begin to grapple with them now.

The economic development of the American Negro is the pressing question of the future. Readers who are interested should note articles already published in THE CRISIS: *as, for instance, the series of articles in the Postscript from month to month, the three articles by W. C. Matney in the December,* 1929, *January and February,* 1930, *numbers of* THE CRISIS. *The present article continues the series. In the future, we are going to have articles on the boycott as it has been used in Chicago to increase Negro employment, together with comments on the Colored Merchants' Association of chain stores; and especially further studies of the Negro in the labor movement. These articles touch a vital and important matter. American Negroes and their friends must be intelligent upon it.*

THE N.A.A.C.P. BATTLE FRONT

MOORFIELD STOREY-LOUIS MARSHALL MEMORIAL CAMPAIGN

WE have said that the work of the fallen leaders of the N. A. A. C. P. must and shall go on. That two such men as Moorfield Storey and Louis Marshall should have died in a single year, is a blow to the Association, which is mitigated only by thinking of how much these men did to advance its aims.

How indispensable Mr. Storey was to the Association is evidenced by the difficulty which is being experienced in designating a fit successor to him. Mr. Storey was not merely the President of the N. A. A. C. P. from the very beginning,—the first and only President the Association has ever had—but he brought to this office and to the affairs of the Association an immense prestige. He came of the best and oldest New England stock. In Boston and in Massachusetts he was a leader in civic affairs. He was one of the governing officers of Harvard University.

In national affairs too his voice had weight. He was a leader in the movement for civil service reform. And in the field of law, he was one of the outstanding figures of the country, one whose words were heard with respect in the United States Supreme Court. He held the highest office which the legal profession can confer in this country, the presidency of the American Bar Association, besides being president of the Massachusetts Bar Association.

So that in coming to the N. A. A. C. P. Moorfield Storey came to the work as one who could add prestige to it. When he entered upon this work there was no glory in being associated in it. It was then an unpopular cause. Mr. Storey actually lost friends when he accepted the office. He became president not for any lustre the office could shed upon the man, but to work. And work he did, tirelessly, courageously and above all, effectively.

The very ground that American Negroes tread, the air they breathe, will be freer ground, freer air, by reason of the work Mr. Storey gave. It was he who filed the only brief submitted by any private individual or organization in the celebrated Grandfather Clause case by which this form of disfranchisement was outlawed in the U. S. Supreme Court in 1915. It was he who carried to the Supreme Court the question whether cities and states could establish ghettoes for Negroes in American cities. Winning the classic Louisville Segregation case, Buchanan v. Warley, in 1917, which has many times served as a basis for numerous other victories on this issue. If colored men and women can buy and live in decent homes, freely, wherever they wish in American cities, unhindered by any law or ordinance, they have Moorfield Storey to thank.

A third great case Moorfield Storey won. When the oppressed Negro farmers of Arkansas, seeking relief from the peonage system used by their landlords to keep them in perpetual debt—when these farmers sought to organize and employ a lawyer, they were shot down and hunted like wild beasts. Twelve of them were condemned to death and many others—67 in all—were sentenced to long prison terms. The cases of six of the twelve, who were under death sentence, Mr. Storey carried before the U. S. Supreme Court. And there, speaking for poor, friendless, helpless men, Mr. Storey not only brought about their release, and the consequent release of the other men; but he established a principle vital to all citizens having to stand trial in this country. That principle is that a trial dominated by a mob, is not due process of law. The Supreme Court so held.

In rendering this decision, the U. S. Supreme Court reversed the position it had taken in the trial of Leo Frank. The celebrated attorney for Leo Frank was the first to appreciate the importance of this decision affirming a principle for which he had contended in vain when he was defending Leo Frank. It was this decision in the case of the Arkansas farmers that first enlisted Louis Marshall's interest in the N. A. A. C. P. He too brought to the Association an immense prestige. His fame as a constitutional lawyer was national. His briefs before the U. S. Supreme Court were models of clarity and learning. Internationally he was known as a leader in Jewish affairs. It happened that in the years when Moorfield Storey was ageing, and he could no longer so actively devote himself to the cases of the Association, Mr. Marshall stepped into the breach. Segregation cases, the famous Texas White Primary case, the Virginia White Primary case recently won before the U. S. District Court of Appeals, innumerable other cases testing, affirming, safeguarding the basic citizenship rights of the Negro, passed before Mr. Marshall. He read the briefs prepared by other attorneys. Sometimes he rewrote them entirely. Not a detail escaped him. It is safe to say that in the past few years not a single case of any importance has been undertaken by the N. A. A. C. P. that was not either prepared by Mr. Marshall or else carefully supervised and directed by him. All this, as in the case of Mr. Storey, was a gift to the Association, and through the Association, to colored citizens of the United States and their children. Both of these eminent leaders of the bar, besides contributing services which could never have been paid for, gave generously of their funds as well.

Now both of them are gone. The records remain of what they accomplished. But the N. A. A. C. P. has never rested on records. Its gaze has always been directed toward the future. It has been pointed out that new leaders are stepping in to carry on the work. And for the work of the future, the work of Moorfield Storey and Louis Marshall, that must go on, it has seemed that nothing could be more appropriate than a memorial drive. A campaign to inform people of the work these leaders did, to inspire them with its tenacity and its effectiveness, and to make them feel that it was worth while doing, worth while because of the spirit it engendered that will carry on.

The Moorfield Storey-Louis Marshall Memorial Campaign has been decided upon for this Spring by the N. A. A. C. P. It will celebrate the immense forward strides made under the leadership of these men. It will be a call to all those who believe in the work to support it, and to help to realize the aims for which those two leaders were striving unselfishly.

The Moorfield Storey-Louis Marshall Memorial Campaign is launched in the 21st year of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Annual Spring Conference, to be held this year in Springfield, Massachusetts, is the 21st such conference of the N. A. A. C. P.

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The Y. M. C. A.

THE National Conference on Colored Work of the Y. M. C. A. met in Chicago, Illinois, October 18, 19 and 20. The following summary of the four years' work was made:

Some of the outstanding accomplishments of the Colored Work since the Washington Conference in 1925 are:

1. An increasing number of colored men have entered the lay leadership of the National Movement: Dr. John P. Turner, member of National Physical Work Committee; William Stuart Nelson, member of National Religious Education Committee; William H. Wortham, member of National Personnel Committee; Bishops W. T. Vernon, R. A. Carter and W. J. Walls, and Dr. John Hope, members of National Counselling Commission of Churches.

2. Eighteen Negro delegates were sent to the Helsingfors Conference. Four Negroes were among the 48 group leaders of the Conference.

3. Dr. John Hope has been appointed a member of the World's Committee. As such he has made two trips to Geneva to attend meetings of the Committee.

4. Frank T. Wilson, National Student Secretary, and Max Yergan attended the World Student Christian Federation Convention in India last year.

5. Dr. John Hope and Max Yergan attended the Jerusalem Conference last year.

6. New associations have been opened at Chattanooga, Tenn., Greensboro, N. C., Jamaica, N. Y.; Newark, N. J.; Trenton, N. J.; Roanoke, Va.; Wilmington, Del.; Rochester, N. Y.; St. Joseph, Mo.; South Bend, Ind.; Toledo, Ohio; White Plains, N. Y.; Winston-Salem, N. C.; Summit, N. J.

7. Building Campaigns have been conducted in Atlantic City, N. J.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Dallas, Texas; Dayton, Ohio; Evanston, Ill.; Germantown, Pa.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Montclair, N. J.; New Orleans, La.; New York, N. Y.; Toledo, Ohio; Winston-Salem, N. C.; Youngstown, Ohio. To all campaigns except two Mr. Julius Rosenwald contributed $25,000.00. The total amount represented in this expansion is $2,690,735.00.

8. New Buildings have been opened in Atlantic City, N. J.; Dayton, Ohio; Buffalo, N. Y.; Los Angeles, Calif.; and Montclair, N. J. In the case of one building, the building in Los Angeles, the plans were drawn by a young colored man, Mr. Paul R. Williams. The work was so exceptional that the plans and photographs of the building were framed and placed on the walls of the Architectural Bureau in New York. Because of the efficiency of Mr. Williams' work he was awarded the contract to prepare the plans for the Hollywood, Calif., building. Mr. Williams made preliminary drawings for Max Yergan's building without charge as a contribution to the South African work.

9. Max Yergan returned to the United States on furlough. While here he spent most of his time travelling throughout the country telling of his work in South Africa and his need for a building as a training center at Fort Hare, Cape Province. The total cost of this building will be about $45,000.00. On personal appeal, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., through his secretary, gave $25,000.00 towards this amount on the condition that the balance be raised.

10. A very satisfying advance has been made in the number and quality of Older Boys Conferences. Many States in the South and some in the North have held conferences. Character improvement with participation of boys in conferences has been marked.

11. Several problems of National and State services have arisen during the quadrennial:

a. Particular concern has been felt as to our National organization, especially of our student work. Since the last conference a student division has been organized in the National Council. A commission has been appointed and two meetings held to determine whether the colored student work should come under the Colored Work Department or the Student Division. The present recommendation of the Commission is that the present organization continue but that the matter be studied further.

b. It is necessary to carry on our department of the work along race lines as the Negro represents a true human interest group. This raises an important interracial question. No longer can we fail or hesitate to look facts in the face. Although Negroes recognize branches as necessary in face of local conditions, it is also the only

way to develop leadership. But there is a growing feeling that the presence of this group along racial lines should not operate to exclude Negroes from any part they are able to fill in the Association Movement. They should be recognized as an integral part of the Movement.

c. There is a problem of the relation between State and National Services, but this is not much of a problem. The need is so great that we have no disposition to scrap over who should render the service. We have the heartiest cooperation of state committees everywhere and work in splendid cooperative spirit.

d. There is the problem before us as to how we can improve our service to local associations. Statistics show a regression in membership in spite of additional equipment and the opening of new fields. The same thing is true in participation in physical education and in religious activities.

e. Charts that are on display tell the story of our unoccupied fields. The condition in the Eastern and Central Region is fairly good, but the situation in the Southern Region is deplorable. It is our responsibility as a group and our responsibility as a conference to see that this situation is remedied.

d. We have done little on the task that Max Yergan left us to finish. We shall have an opportunity to fulfill our pledge to Yergan. China wants to try the experiment of an American Negro as an Association worker.

"Jim-Crow" Travel

A Southern white man once said that the "Jim-Crow" car more than any single thing, would, if he were a Negro, drive him out of the South. Travel for the ordinary colored citizen in the South is a nightmare of discomfort, insecurity and insult. The present practices are illegal even on the basis of the South's own laws; they cheat poor citizens by making them pay first class fares for third class accommodations; in inter-state travel they contravene national law and court decisions, and they seriously interfere with work and efficiency. We present two illustrative instances, the first by a colored woman, the second by a white man.

YESTERDAY, March 29th, I left Daytona Beach, Florida, for Deland, at 8 A .M. on a bus that runs from Daytona Beach to Orlando. There was one other colored passenger going to Deland, a lady who lives in Daytona Beach and teaches in Deland. I attended to my business at the Court House there (concerning my taxes) looked around the town and returned to the bus station about 1:10 P. M. to wait for the 2:45 bus. About 1:45 I went to the ticket agent to buy my ticket and was told I could not get it until the bus arrived, so when it came I went to the agent and asked for a ticket to Daytona Beach. The agent said: "You can't go on this bus." I asked why, and he said: "There is no room for you." I looked in the bus and saw a vacant seat, the one I sat in going to Deland. I called the agent's attention to it and he said: "You cannot occupy that seat." Two white ladies occupied the other two seats (which are three in one). I asked again the objection to my sitting there and he said: "Because you can't." I told him I sat in it coming over to Deland, but he paid no attention to me. A white couple drove up and asked if they could get seats in the bus and was told by a white young man who seemed to be a porter at the station that they could be accommodated. A white man who went over on the 8 A. M. bus and returned in the 2:45 P. M. got out at Deland and his seat (I think) was given to the couple. As the agent refused to sell me a ticket and as I expected to be met in Daytona, soon after the bus arrived there, I went around to the side of the bus next to the vacant seat and asked the lady if there was any objection to my sitting there (as she had a wrap I think on the seat). She said: "None whatever." At this juncture the porter came around and opened a rear door and pointed to a camp chair, packed above and around with baggage, and said: "This is the only place you can sit on this bus." I refused it and went in the bus, the lady moved her articles and I sat down. The porter on one side and the agent on the other, then ordered me out and when I would not get out, the collector of tickets came up and asked for my ticket. I told him I had none, so he said: "Get out then." Some of the passengers began to protest, so the agent told them that, "Down here we don't allow colored people to sit by

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Inter-Marriage: A Symposium

In the January CRISIS *we published a letter from a young white man who sought advice on marrying a colored girl. We replied to him editorially and then asked our readers to comment. They did so in February and now again this month.*

I THINK that out of one hundred and twenty million people, this man may find a wife of his own race, if he seeks diligently enough. To be happy and contented is one of man's great objects in life and it takes all of his skill and ingenuity to obtain this desire with everything in his favor, much less trying to stem the tide and be happy with all the barriers against one. I believe if he seriously considers the barriers named by the Editor in the January CRISIS and takes to himself a wife of his own race, I will venture that after a few short years he will bless the name of the Editor of the CRISIS for having called his attention to these obstacles.

Sometimes when love is blind, then reason must lead.

MRS. ELI ROBERTS,
Aberdeen, South Dakota.

By all means the young man should persuade the girl to marry him. He loves her and she loves him. What more could one want in life. It is not color that counts in love, but the one you most desire. This young man will make the great mistake of his life if he does not marry the one whom he loves. He will never be happy again in life even if he marries one of his own race. Love knows no color line.

I, myself, am a young colored girl but I carry no racial prejudice in my heart, nor do I draw any color line. It is not God's way. We who call ourselves Christians should do all that we can to break the barrier that separates the two races.

Corris L. Richardson,
New Rochelle, New York

You may call it God, evolution, the nature of things, or by any other name you please, but we do know that there is as great a variety of the human species in the world as there are of plants and animals. And that each species of plants, animals, etc., seem to realize and obey the natural law, that separate and keep it within its bounds.

By natural preservation of the species of both the lower animals and plants, each one has been able to retain their identity. Of the plants, the oak, for hundreds of thousands of years, has remained the oak. The linden, the pine tree still remains the pine, etc. The same law holds good of the insects, birds and beasts. The bluebird, redbird and brown thrush, have each retained its identity. And even the domesticated animal, unless by interference of man, continues to preserve its species. And thus it is true of the human family, that has proceeded to divide itself into different species or races of men, who have reached the highest development intellectually, physically and socially, there must be rules or laws governing the society of which each of us are a part to keep each one within a law adequate for the protection of racial differences or identity.

My advice to the youth and doubtless innocent girl, is "to watch your step."

Mrs. M. C. Hamblin,
Los Angeles, California.

If you are positive that you are in love with the young colored woman to whom you referred in your letter to Dr. Du Bois, and have ample proof that she loves you, I see no good reason for permitting racial and religious differences to deter your marrying her.

After all, love is the most essential factor in life and to deny yourself the wholesome affection and companionship of a morally clean and intelligent girl merely to live up to certain time-worn conventions of society, is a cruel outrage.

Walter S. Robinson,
Corona, New York.

The root of these difficulties run deeply into the soil of sexual jealousy. White men are usually preoccupied with the dread of black men creating an intimacy with white women. They seem to think that social equality is the ultimate goal of the Negro. This is not true. Negroes simply want an opportunity to develop themselves as other races and to be treated as American citizens. Of course they do not object to the intermingling of those who wish it; nor do they ask it of those who do not desire it. They simply ask that if inter-marriage should occur between the races, white people —yes, and colored people, too—should treat such couples with the courtesy and respect of civilized people, and not with the scorn and prejudice of savage tribes.

This is not a plea for amalgamation. Amalgamation needs no plea. While we sit wondering, amalgamation moves on with irrisistable force. The question is: should it go on endlessly through the shameful channel of bastardy, or should it be brought within the bounds of law by racial intermarriage?

E. David Craig,
Chicago, Ill.

I was reared in a caucasian neighborhood, I and my sister, being the only colored girls. My playmates became Joe and Charles, two little white boys. Joe was the son of foreign-born German parents. From the age of three and four years old up to twelve and thirteen years, Joe and I played together without one quarrel. Joe attended a Catholic school, but we managed to meet each day after school. Then when Joe was ready for high school, he went to the public school. My first heartache came when I noticed Joe would walk home from school with white girls. But when I got within a few blocks of my home, he would join me. He used to always nickname me Brown Teddy. So this day, in a hurt tone, he began as follows:

"Brown Teddy, I missed you when you were away last year. Do you remember the good times we have always had together? I want to tell you something," he continued. "Josephine, (his sister) tells Dad I walk home with you, and the old man throws a fit. I told him you were as nice as any of the white girls, but Dad says, white people cannot go with colored people. White boys can't make a living if they marry colored girls. Dad likes you, but that's the reason. So, Teddy, I will not be seeing you often, but when I finish school and get work, I'll make enough money so you and I can get married and then go somewhere else and live. But promise to see me once every week."

So from that day on, on account of hurt pride and the advice of my mother, Joe was sort of forgotten. But wherever we met, Joe always without any embarrassment saluted me very cordially. My first beau had always been Joe's enemy, a mulatto boy, who passed for white at school and public places. Joe knew he was colored. Well, Joe approached me and mentioned our bargain. I was now sixteen and Joe seventeen. I asked Joe

to release me from my promise as Mother had advised me, too. He cried and I cried, too. Well, at the age of nineteen I married a mulatto man. I have been married seven years and am the mother of a son. Joe's father has died. Joe is twenty-seven years old, and has never married. His mother and sisters blame me because I hurt their Joe. Joe speaks, but he seems so sullen and sad. I love my husband. But I hate to meet Joe face to face. His blue eyes hold a story.

———— ————,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

The question of intermarriage between the races brought up in the letter written you by the young man seeking advice and on which you ask the opinion of your readers is one which is hurled at white people, who, like myself, believe in a square deal for people of all races. It is the sensational thing that seems to catch the imagination of those ignorant people who know nothing about the whole so-called question but think they can "stump" you by bringing it up. It was flung in the face of Lincoln until he finally exclaimed, "Just because I don't want a black woman for a slave it doesn't follow that I want a black woman for my wife. There are plenty of black men to marry the black women and plenty of white men to marry the white woman."

Whenever the "Negro question" is brought into the conversation whether in an economic or humanitarian way this irrelevant question is always brought up. Personally I am sick and tired of hearing it because it has so little to do with what the Negroes and the friends of Negroes are seeking. But when it does arise in the sincere way appearing in THE CRISIS I think I should answer as you did. For myself I usually reply that if the young colored man who wished to marry my daughter were all that I would wish in a young white man I should have no objection on account of his race but I should be very unhappy to think of the insults and ostracism they would both have to endure and I should point this out to my daughter as vividly as possible. As I have a daughter who has no race prejudice I know what I am talking about.

With the assistance of a very kind letter of introduction from yourself I interviewed many Negro leaders throughout the South this fall as I did in the East last summer and I am convinced that this question plays a very small part in their efforts to obtain a square deal. To me it is a foolish thing to always bring up this question and ignore the one of promiscuous and illegitimate children. Why can these short sighted people not see that the occasional marriage between the races would be a benefit if it would help to do away with this tragic thing which gives innocent children the double burden of color and illegitimacy. It would seem that in the minds of many the thing that is hidden is right. It is a very selfish attitude.

May I thank you for putting this up to your readers and for allowing them to have their "say". THE CRISIS is read from cover to cover in our home.

Hortense Reese,
Minneapolis, Minn.

My first impulse upon reading of my white friend's expert execution of almost incredible New Year's Resolutions—("I do not smoke, drink, dance, play cards, rarely go to a movie, etc.")—is to tell him to place a great period to his marriage desires for the reason that "Saint heart ne'er won fair lady." But a most corroding pity attacked me when I considered the question in his behalf. I am thereby writing you and him out of a purified spirit.

The pity arose out of a dream; the dream out of a remembrance of "The Comet" in *Darkwater*. My vision went so far as to imagine all the world reduced to white women and one man, a colored man, who was a corpse; and they standing over him. I saw in that picture a sudden uprush of belated desire, forcibly suppressed because there was nothing else possible; desire rising out of their mouths and eyes and breasts, like a many-tongued flame.

My vision may seem to be off the point; but doesn't it emphasize the everlasting, inevitable connection between humanity and the individual; between the general and the particular? If you reverse the complexion of my dream—to all colored women and one white man—or the sex—to all colored men and one white woman, or the complexion and the sex—to all white men and one colored woman—the picture is the same. When you reduce humanity or sex to its lowest common denominator, it matters not what the numerator, it is still just humanity or sex. But raise it again by involutions of color and society multiples and it's something else. And I pitied this white gentleman, you and me for variant reasons on the same theme: him, because he had to desert the perfectly sensible teaching of his upbringing—of loving colored people as a race—and love a colored individual; you, because you advocate miscegenation as a principle (if the participating parties are agreeable to it) and deny it in almost every individual case; and me, because I think it mandatory and unavoidable, as an act of courage, when the individual case arises, but a horrible thing to think about as a generalization, as I do all generalizations (even that last one). And yet all three of us believe that people ought to marry whom, when, and for what reasons they please, and have an end on it.

But to clear up my vision: The spectacle I pictured was on the basis of love in humanity being the outstanding phase of marriage, sex of love, and desire of sex; with desire, as a result, the outstanding phase of marriage. That is the central motive. The counter motive finds inequality the chief opponent of all marriage, caste, the chief phase of inequality, and race, in this case, the chief measurement of caste. Thus, my dream reduced all human marriage to desire as a central motive, all inequality to race as counter motive and used a numerical basis as an additional reducer. My result you have seen. Which means that I believe that at bottom the central motive ought to be successful always, except when it cannot possibly be, or in other words, that if people want each other they ought always to take each other, except when they *can't*. When the central motive is defeated, there is *always* tragedy of some sort.

So much for the theoretical side of it. You and your friend in trouble might appreciate my talking awhile in the direction of the point instead of away from it, if perchance there are even two grains of wheat hidden away amongst the chaff. I should like, then, to ask three questions, answer them and then twitch my blue mantle to betake myself with your very willing permission to fresh woods and new pastures. The questions are:

1. If marrying a certain girl means more to one than anything else in the world: that is, if not marrying her means more spiritual ruin than going along as now or than marrying her, why should there be any hesitation about choosing the most logically profitable of three possible goods?

2. If, isolating the simple obstacle of race or caste and choosing any other motive or sub-motive which might be counter to marriage, a substituted counter motive could not be as great in importance as the central motive (marriage) why hesitate on the simple bugaboo of race?

3. If one is not sure one's love will transcend all things, of whatever kind, some of which are sure to oppose it, why *plan* to get married at all?

As you see, I have given my own answers by merely asking the questions. I think it an eternal pity that people accept willingly the possibility of all

other persecutions whatever when planning to marry and shy away at once from race persecutions. I think it an even greater pity that you whose spirit and genius I respect above that of almost any other living man should admit that you would discourage an interracial marriage on grounds obviously less portentous and less fraught with danger of happiness than many things of which you would have probably given no notice, like sex incompatibility, temperamental unfitness or drunkenness. Or have you suddenly become aware that the 18th Amendment is more powerful than its fellows, the 13th, 14th, and 15th, and consequently more in need of neglect?

Personally, I hope the gentleman and his wife (whom he shall certainly marry) have a great time together. I hope also he will report back to us his "experience" in a course of years. I want to take this occasion, finally, to exclaim to all "eligible" white women, "Aroint ye from my path," for though I can solve this problem easily enough for someone else, I prefer not having it in my own fingers.

Yet I do wish I could hear the brave silent woman's side of it.

John Lovell, Jr.,
Philadelphia.

Such a marriage union would set an example for the 100 per cent white gentlemen in the Southland who are ever ready to disgrace young colored girls and who by such illicit unions are filling the country over with mulattoes, quadroons and octoroons. These unions as the world knows take place in sections below the Potomac without the sanction of the church or of the state, in face of the fact that in these sections laws are made to prevent colored and white persons marrying into each others families. The white man is instrumental in defeating his own laws; he is opposed to the black man marrying his daughter and yet, he makes possible these illicit unions. A young brown-skin man was walking on the street with his wife, a woman of fair hair and complexion and a decided Anglo-Saxon in appearance. He was asked by his employer the next morning on going to work: "Did you marry a white woman?" "No, I married a white man's daughter," he answered.

Robert W. Carter,
Brookline, Mass.

I am interested in the case of the white youth who asks your advice about marrying a colored girl. All the world should love a lover! You are wise and kind to warn him of the difficulties but draw far too dismal an outlook. That he may meet with ostracism on the part of both races, as you state, if true is but partially so. On the other hand, the very boldness of the step may win him many friends. The willingness to sacrifice fortune, convention, place and even life itself in pursuit of the ideal has its rewards even in what you consider this dark world. There is a growing number of liberals of all races who will approve his action.

Strangely enough such liberals are largely found among two extremes: People who greatly value religion, (not sectarianism) and radicals who oppose religion. What our youth therefore needs is advice as to finding such liberals and also those sections of this our America that are most liberal, such as the larger cities of New York and New England, the northern part of the middle West, such as northern Ohio and Illinois, also Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota and the far west notably the State of Washington. It is not that liberals are confined to such areas. One will be amazed to find them as far South as Mississippi and Texas, although rare. On the other hand many bigots are in the regions mentioned as strongholds of liberalism.

I recall with amusement entering a Washington, D. C., group of four white men who were discussing my own marriage to a white woman which occurred seventeen years ago and continues quite happy. One was an Ohio veteran of the Civil War, another a Kansas Quaker, the third a Mississippian whose father fought under the Rebel General Forest and the fourth an Englishman then naturalized. Their talk continued even after my appearance. The G. A. R. man was strong in attack, the Quaker equally so in defense. When the Southerner was asked his opinion of my marriage he drawled, "I think he did the right thing!" The Englishman gave tacit approval. These men were all my friends before my marriage and continued to be afterwards. In fact I have only in the rarest of instances been reminded of having lost any friends of either race because of this. Once some southern whites to whom I was recommended declined to receive me for this reason. There is also a colored man, once a classmate of mine, who has refused to speak to me since my marriage and another who greets me always when alone, but whose eyes never meet mine if I am accompanied by my wife. As these people are all quite dull their attitude of aloofness saves me much embarrassment and adds to the gayety.

Although during a life time I have favored inter-racial marriages I feel very kindly disposed toward those who disapprove. Years ago I once wrote a strong letter of protest to a friend who had it in view because he was a man of parts and so near the boundary between the so-called races that my fear was that his genius would be lost to the colored race if he took this step. Whether influenced by my letter I know not, but he did not, and now has three children identified with the colored race through an *intra* racial match.

The value of inter-marriage is that it tends to increase the bond of fellowship between races, destroys prejudices and often produces clever and beautiful offspring. Consider the Eurasians and other vital stocks produced by racial mixing. Of the last there are countless illustrations. There comes to mind a family of Greater New York in which the husband and wife, white and black, are very ordinary people by human standards. But their three children are clever and beautiful beyond description. My own marriage though childless is happy. My wife is of solid English stock, with a long range of accomplishments and a granite character. She has always been my enthusiastic supporter, inspiration and helpmeet in my humble efforts to serve humanity. Believing in her as I do I have sometimes tried to show her accomplishments to friends. But this they must discover as she has all the English aversion to display of any kind.

Advise your friends to place their contemplated union upon the high basis of principle and altruism. Let them hope through it to widen the horizons of people and thus serve humanity. If they are kindly disposed it is certain that they will make friends who will hold them so fully occupied as to keep their natures sweet and leave no time for worry or even to know about the ill wishes of others. Surely a true marriage is more than a mere union of bodies!

"One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name!"

There are few inter racial marriages in America now but the future holds promise of many. It is to be hoped that the clear vision and the wide influence that are yours will be used to encourage them.

Philadelphia.

Some Whys and Wherefores of College Dramatics

By RANDOLPH EDMONDS

Mr. Edmonds is in charge of dramatics at Morgan College. His group of student players participated in the Little Theater Tournament in New York last year and this year they have begun intercollegiate dramatics with Hampton Institute.

IF we listen to the so-called educational experts, we will find that there are many things wrong with American colleges. The chief malady they diagnose as too much extra-curricular activity. These seductive side lines not only snare the unsophisticated co-eds, but the furrowed professors as well. They claim that the only way these venerable guards of learning can increase their monthly stipends is to write hackneyed books, give nonsensical lectures to equally nonsensical organizations, or dissipate their time in many community enterprizes which take their attention from the classroom. The co-eds themselves only come to college for athletics or for social purposes. Both teaching and studying, they affirm, are as antiquated as the dodo.

There is no denying the fact that there is much in the criticism of the learned educators. A great deal of both studying and teaching could be done with considerable more benefit to the college in general, and the students in particular. But in spite of the super-abundance of freight that is cluttering up the express and passenger lines, I maintain that there is one extra-curricular activity that could be stressed—nay, should be stressed—with many advantages. I refer to college dramatics.

There are three or four good reasons why college dramatics should become more important on the campus. The first is; it should be used as a laboratory for the objective teaching of the drama. As long as there are higher schools of learning, there will be courses in drama. No college is complete without Aeschylus, Shakespeare, Ibsen, and the other great characters that expressed life through this medium.

A play is written to be acted. It is not a complete play until it unfolds itself upon the stage. If we are going to teach it successfully, we must teach it in its true medium. The procedure in most of our colleges is to read the plays, note the historical background and sources, and apply to them a few rules of criticism gotten from another tedious book on technique. No mere reading of a play will do, for it is not written primarily to be read.

It is surprising that with all our objective method of teaching, we do not carry it over into the field of drama. This is a scientific age; and notwithstanding the fact that we are not all from Missouri, we demand proof for most things. In the natural sciences, the laboratories are the most important things about the courses. Very little that can be shown is left to theory. It should be the same way in the drama. To see an idea projected on the stage, and by successive steps of action and dialogue run the gamut of human emotions is to get a better appreciation of the medium as an art form. If complexity of blood circulation can be better understood by watching the pulmonary action of a cat, the complex emotional reaction of an individual in a recognition scene can best be understood by observing it as it takes place before one's eyes. If laboratories are necessary in biology, they are necessary in drama. The dramatic club is the best agency on the campus for the purpose.

College dramatics not only affords the means for objectively teaching the drama, but all art. The requirements of the future will not be for more science, but more art. Science is shortening our working days so fast, that the future problem will be what to do with our leisure time. The only satisfactory thing so far is art in some form. Interested people never grow weary of their interest. The college must begin now to prepare people for that interest.

Since art galleries, with many collections of works, are denied the average college, the drama can be used more effectively in the beginning than any other. It is the greatest of all arts because it comes closer to life. It includes the fundamentals of all the rest. It has the same interest in a story as the novel, and some of the finest poetry in the world. Since our modern stage is in the form of a picture frame, one can illustrate the balance and beauty of painting and sculpture. It has the rhythm and poise of dancing, and its sets represents the architecture of the ages; and in some of its great emotional places, where the soul is torn asunder by the problems of the universe, we have the enobling effect of incidental music. Truly an inclusive art! We can only understand these things, however, as they are taught to us from a model before our eyes. The college dramatic club is the best place for this comparative study.

The third advantage of college dramatics is that it creates a medium of cultural advertising. We have enough physical advertising: huge stadiums and mammoth gymnasiums are built. Expensive coaches are hired to turn out winning teams. The art of ballyhoo has been used to the greatest degree. The results have been a steady stream of advertised brawn from most of the colleges. The cultural stream is very small and sluggish. It consists of a few programs by the glee club, a few oratorical contests, and a few debates to which nobody goes.

In spite of the increased interest in sports, as evidenced by the fact that most of the front pages on the final editions of our newspapers are devoted to them, it must be remembered that the theatres draw more people in this country than sports. The thousands of highly capitalized playhouses in this country will bear witness to that.

If handled rightly, there is a lot of publicity in college dramatics. In addition it reaches an audience usually untouched by by the sport sheets. It reaches a class of people who worship the God of Beauty instead of the Gods of Football and Track. To reach this different audience is justification enough for the increased interest suggested.

Some of the ways that the young collegiates keep their play in the public's mind are: to plaster the town with placards, run slides in all the movie houses in the vicinity, sending out several thousand letters, trailer announcements in public gatherings followed by hand bills, stunts and radio talks, and the regular photographs and stories in the newspapers. In fact, all of the publicity methods of athletics go into the production of a play. Thus we can see that college dramatics can be a very great asset in the cultural advertisement of the school.

(*Will you please turn to page* 105)

THE POET'S CORNER

The River

By ETHEL CAUTION

THE river is a decrepit old woman
Shivering in her sombre shawl of fog.
Stray wisps of gray foam cling to her dank temples.
Now and then she mutters sitting there
Huddled like a shadow against the wall.
And I cannot tell.
Whether she repents some folly of her youth
Or whether she bemoans her children
Who could not pace their restless steps
To her age-tempered tread.

Portrait

By GEORGE LEONARD ALLEN

HER eyes? Dark pools of deepest shade,
Like sylvan lakes that lie
In some sequestered forest glade
Beneath a starry sky.

Her cheeks? The ripened chestnut's hue,—
Rich Autumn's sun-kissed brown!
Caressed by sunbeams dancing through
Red leaves that flutter down.

Her form? A slender pine that sways
Before the murmuring breeze
In summer, when the south wind plays
Soft music through the trees.

Herself? A laughing, joyous sprite
Who smiles from dawn till dark—
As lovely as a summer night
And carefree as a lark.

Lost God

By LILLIAN BYRNES

I AM weary of your following, He said;
The sound of pattering footsteps, in my ear
Is not sweet music, following after mine;
(Can your tracks fit within my tracks? He said)
Nor your mind's futile pattering, like weak rain
Upon a roof it trickles off in streams;
Nor your hands' grasping—reaching after me,
Nor your pursuing prayers, like myriad arrows,
Each with twin, poisoned shafts of praise and seeking—
No, nor your abject, incense-laden breaths
Sighing your vain desires—not these are sweet.
Guilty are these, my feet—that now depart
From you—and this, my mind, that let you follow.
Better be lost in some great trackless waste
Where sands obliterate all outward signs
Until you look within. Cry out upon me.
When you have said, "There is no god for me!"
When you have cried, "There are no tracks but mine!"
When you have looked up at the sun and laughed;
When you have flung your forehead against the stars,
Unseen I'll raise my hand in blessing on you,
And set your seeking footsteps in the path.

Poems

By PHILIP M. HARDING

Forgiveness

NOW I forgive; my heart is wet
With the chill rain of its November
And there are things I can forget—
And things I shall remember.

Thus it is well for you to come
And sip my wine and break my bread,
There will be much to say—and some
Things will be left unsaid . . .

Old dreams lie quiet in my thought
Like cold fruit in a silver bowl
That you must share—a man is naught
If there's no mirror for his soul.

But you must hurry. Ever soon
My hearth will be no longer warm:
A bat will smash against the moon,
A black cross split the winter storm.

There is so much to say; words grow
And tear my lips with restless wings!
Yet, come to me before I go—
Somehow, ghosts are wary things . . .

Sketch in Electricity

BUT it was hard to think of her up there
Not as a splendid queen upon a throne;
Royal and cold she was, strapped to the chair
And staring like a wraith on walls of stone.
You did not think of flesh embraced in wire,
Sweat upon steel, nor of black hair undone—
Rather, of fire riveted to fire,
Something magnificent, lonely as the sun.

Then, in the silence, little brooks of chill
Poured through the room and spun in whirlpools where
An interval of anguish broke to fill
Her eyes with a blue lightning of despair.
A Priest conversed with God, and we were grave
And numb with quietness—when suddenly
Our very souls were splintered by a wave
Of blinding hate for men's stupidity!

Negro Laughter

By ANITA SCOTT COLEMAN

NEGRO laughter . . .
is not the laughter of those others
Who force their distrait mirth
through thin pale lips.

Negro laughter . . .
is a stem of joyousness, a hardy tendrill
Thrusting through the moraines
of long distress.

Shantytown

By GEORGE REEVES

I WILL get up and go now,
and walk to Shantytown,
over where the houses
are like to tumble down.

I will forget the heights, and
the suburbs on the hill;
I will ignore the stuck-up
set from Eliteville.

I'll mingle with the crowds on
the jangling avenue,
and go to where the smokestacks
deny the sky is blue.

Down along the tracks are
a host of shouting boys,
and both the white and black ones
revel in the noise.

And there the dandy youngbloods
delight in seeming beer,
and strut with gaudy girls from
the cannery that's near,

Whose vivid splash of lipstick
is all that is required
to make the finest ladies
as ever were desired.

And when they all are mated,
they occupy the shacks,
and rear their many children
with kisses and with whacks.

All that's necessary
to make each shack a home
is a loudly florid floor-lamp
and a scratchy gramophone.

I will get up and go now,
and walk to Shantytown;
folks live a jolly life there,
and for a dollar down.

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

E. S. Richardson, page 98

EUROPE

¶ The Folk high schools of Denmark are among the most interesting educational experiments of our day. Colored students from America are particularly welcomed at the International Peoples College, which is a folk university for students from different countries, founded at Elsinore in 1921 and intended to serve "in the building of a bridge between nations by enabling students of foreign countries to meet and study together." Summer and winter sessions are held; the former from April 20 to July 10 and the latter, from November 2nd to March 30th. The charges are low. Persons interested may correspond with THE CRISIS.

Already two scholarships for colored students have been provided and it is hoped that colored organizations themselves will furnish further scholarships.

¶ It is estimated that there are in Germany about 200 Negroes. Most of them are actors and musicians. In Berlin, a colored man named Brody, has gotten together fifty of these colored folk and staged a Revue. Brody was born in the Cameruns, a part of what was formerly German West Africa, and is an educated writer and actor. His revue is a picture of the cultural development of the Negro race. It will be given in a colored theater, which is a transformed restaurant frequented by colored folk. There are thirty colored men, eight colored women, and three whites. Beside this, there is a band and orchestra of fourteen.

¶ The League of Nations has appointed Mr. S. Meek, a Belgian, and Judge Arendal, a Norwegian, as members of the Slavery and Forced Labor Commission to Liberia.

¶ British Quakers are making Friends House in Euston Road, London, an international center. At Christmas time they held a foreign students' party, with students from Holland, Germany, Poland, America, India, West Indies, China, Japan, Canada, Egypt, West Africa and other countries. December 31, they entertained 200 children of African descent from various parts of London.

AMERICA

¶ The Julius Rosenwald Fund has appropriated $50,000 for Southern fellowships in the Social Sciences. The fellowships are open to men and women, white and colored, who are graduates of an accredited college or university in Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and North and South Carolina.

¶ A. L. Holsey of Tuskegee, who is promoting the C. M. A. Chain stores for the Negro Business League, reports 128 stores working under the plans as follows: 31 in Winston-Salem, North Carolina; 29 in New York City; 25 in Dallas, Tex.; 17 in Montgomery, Ala.; 15 in Jackson, Miss.; 11 in Selma, Ala. These merchants through co-operation in buying, selling and advertising are increasing their volume of business and reducing their expenses.

¶ Morgan College and Hampton Institute are exchanging productions by their dramatic clubs. Hampton appeared in Baltimore March 7th with three one-act plays, and the Morgan Club in Hampton, March 22nd, with three plays. This is an auspicious beginning of inter-collegiate dramatics.

¶ Negro History Week was celebrated February 9 by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. A banquet was held in Washington.

¶ During the year 1929, colored babies through contests raised for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, $9,977. In the last five years, they have raised $78,814 to fight for their own future. This "Tenth Crusade" is carried on by William Pickens.

¶ The Utica Jubilee singers left the United States January 4th for a world tour of fourteen months. C. W. Hyne is the manager. These singers have made an enviable reputation in the United States.

¶ The Harmon Foundation makes annual loans to students, at certain colleges of not more than $250. Among the colleges listed is Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. In the case of another set of colleges, the college affiliated matches every loan with cash or notes. In this case, the minimum annual loan is $300. Atlanta University is in this list. The total appropriations for these loans by the Harmon Foundation have amounted to $109,800.

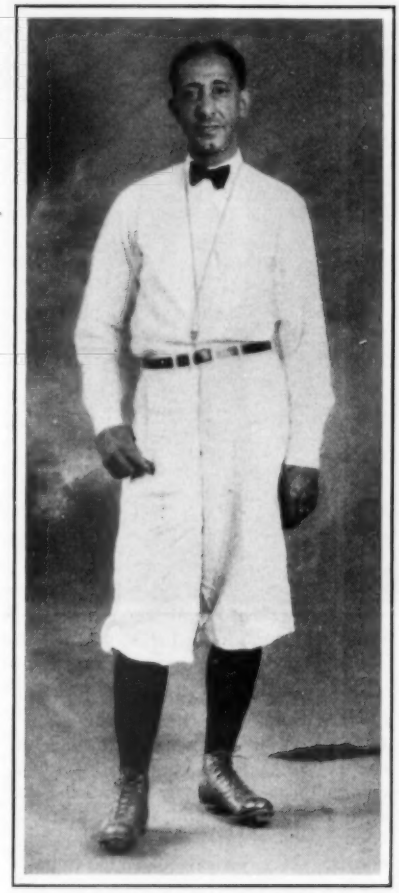
¶ Paul W. L. Jones, who for many years has furnished us an annual resumé of the results of football among the colored colleges, has been officiating as field judge for these games since 1920. In 1929, he served at seven of

The United States Post Office. Virgin Islands, page 98

the major games and was invited to serve at many others, but could not on account of conflict. Officiating in any field of sport is not easy work and brings much criticism and very little praise to the judge. Negro college football games are now great social affairs. Graduates of the schools come from long distances, especially to witness the Thanksgiving games. Homecoming games are annual events in nearly all Negro colleges. Great crowds gather at Philadelphia, Washington, Tuskegee, Nashville, Houston, Montgomery, Dallas, Greensboro, New York, Wilberforce, Louisville, Hampton, Richmond, Columbus, Ohio, Atlanta and Charleston, West Virginia.

¶ Mr. Jones selects as all-Negro American teams for 1929, the list below.

¶ Of the teams, he says: Tuskegee won the national championship crown of Negro college football. It defeated all opponents, winning easily from all except Wilberforce, which was beaten by the score of 6 to 0. It won from the Twenty-fourth Infantry 24 to 7, Clark 21 to 0, North Carolina A. & T. 21 to 0, Florida A. & M. 57 to 0, Morris Brown 32 to 19, Alabama State 20 to 0, Miles Memorial 39 to 0, and Bluefield 34 to 0. Tuskegee's opponents represented almost every section of the country. Fans were surprised at the outcome of the Bluefield game because Bluefield had held the center of the Negro college football stage for three years. Tuskegee was at its best in this game. Every Tuskegee player was "on edge", and everyone performed his task well. Bluefield fought gamely every minute of the fracas, but it was no match for the Tuskegee gridders. The Tuskegee team has lost but two games in seven years and has been tied but eight times during that period of time. Cleve L. Abbott, the Tuskegee mentor, has built a wonderful team, an outfit that should perform even better in 1930 than it did in 1929.



Paul W. L. Jones

¶ Of the other teams, Wilberforce was outstanding in the mid-West; Oklahoma did not lose a game; Claflin was champion of the South Atlantic Inter-Collegiate Athletic Association, and "the fastest team in Negro college football was Fisk."

Position	First Team	Second Team	Third Team
End	Dalton (Clark)	Ellis (J. C. Smith)	McManus (Livingstone)
Tackle	Lee (Virginia State)	Pierce (Fisk)	Clark (Wilberforce)
Guard	Scott (W. Va. State)	Nixon (Wilberforce)	Slaughter (Fisk)
Center	Champion (Tuskegee)	Anderson (W. Va. State)	Coombs (Wiley)
Guard	Coger (Alabama State)	Wert (Oklahoma)	Rettig (Bishop)
Tackle	Williams (Prairie View)	Thompson (Va. Union)	Britton (Tuskegee)
End	Jeffries (Bluefield)	Duncan (Tuskegee)	James (Talladega)
Quarter	Whedbee (Fisk)	Crisp (Oklahoma)	Purnell (Southern)
Half	Thornhill (Wilberforce)	Bounds (Va. State)	Wiggins (Bluefield)
Half	Wiggins (Fisk)	Tynes (Wilberforce)	Chambers (Clark)
Full	Stevenson (Tuskegee)	Shanklin (Tuskegee)	Cotton (Virginia Union)

EAST

¶ On November 24, in the Catholic Cathedral in Baltimore, the colored nuns, known as the Oblate Sisters of Providence, celebrated the 100th Anniversary of their founding. A pontifical mass was celebrated by Bishop Curley.

¶ At the Norristown, Penna., high school, the last mid-winter class had 66 graduates, of which four were colored. The pictures of all graduates appear together in the local papers.

¶ It is reported that Hammond Daniels, a colored politician of Atlantic City, who died in December, has left $50,000 as an educational fund for Negro children. The fund will not become operative until certain beneficiaries die, who are to have the income during their lifetime. After their death, the fund will go to Brick Junior College, Bricks, North Carolina.

¶ The National Urban League announces its 20th series of social service fellowships for the school year 1930-31. They amount to $1,200 a year and are for attendance at the New York School of Social Work and the University of Pittsburgh.

¶ The New York School of Social Work offers a nine-months fellowship to a colored woman who is a college

The Tuskegee Football Squad

PENN COLLEGE LIBRARY
OSKALOOSA, IOWA

The Utica Jubilee Singers, page 94

graduate and who wishes to specialize in case work.

¶ Taylor Gordon is training a colored people's chorus at the Music School of the Henry Street Settlement, New York.

¶ Howard O. Long, Assistant Superintendent of Public Schools of the District of Columbia, recently lectured at Yale University on intelligence tests for colored children. This was before the International Conference of Psychologists with 27 countries represented. Mr. Long's conclusions contradicted the usual reports of low intelligence among Negroes.

¶ Carl R. Diton, as baritone, took part in the concert of the Chamber Music Guild in New York City. There were representatives of most modern peoples on the program.

¶ The West 137th Street branch of the Y. W. C. A. in New York City, a colored organization, is celebrating its 25th Anniversary and it has given a banquet, pageant, and other public events. Mrs. Cecelia Cabaniss-Saunders has been General Secretary for sixteen years. The branch has property valued at $500,000, an annual budget of $126,639, and over two thousand members.

¶ In connection with the Ter-Centenary celebration of the settlement of New England, a Society of Descendants of Early New England Negroes has been formed. Seventeen members of the Society have ancestors who fought in the Revolution and one is a descendant of a drummer boy in the French and Indian wars. W. E. B. Du Bois is Honorary President of the Association, Mrs. Florida Rufflin Ridley, President and Mrs. Mary Lew Rollins, Treasurer.

¶ Lincoln University is planning a new dormitory. The Rosenwald Fund has given $50,000 and the General Education Board $50,000. The building will cost at least $150,000 and will house 100 students.

¶ Alfred H. Meyer, writing in the *Boston Transcript* concerning the last concert of Roland Hayes, says: "Mr. Hayes stands before his public not in any sense a vocalist, but in every sense a singer. The distinction is vital. Many of the greatest singers have been negligible as vocalists, while Mr. Hayes, even as vocalist, can claim powers far, very far, from being negligible. Further, and not in a derogatory sense, Mr. Hayes is essentially a miniaturist. The cameo in music is his field. In songs in which cameo-like arts of delineation and interpretation can be exercised Mr. Hayes seems to be without a peer."

¶ The Allied Arts Center in the Gainesboro Building, Boston, held an anniversary celebration in January. In December they presented "The Lost Disciple" in the Fine Arts Theater, a Negro folk play written by Jack Bates, who is employed at the Lenox Hotel. The Center is doing an astonishingly interesting and complete work on slender means. Maud Cuney Hare is the Director.

¶ Charles K. Ovington, a life member of the N. A. A. C. P. and brother of Mary White Ovington, is dead in New York at the age of 73. He was at the head of the firm of Ovington Brothers on Fifth Avenue.

N. A. A. C. P. Prize Babies, Jamaica, N. Y., Contest

Evelyn M. Brown. *Florence and Ramona Logan* *Billy Pierce, Jr.* *Elizabeth A. Lewis*

¶ In a recent graduation at the Wadleigh High School, New York City, among the honor Seniors was Ruth Mattis who stood 9th in Scholarship among 248 girls and received a Wight Scholarship.

MIDDLE WEST

¶ Four hundred pupils graduated at the Springfield, Ill., high school. At the head of the class stood Laura Smith, a colored girl sixteen years old, who was valedictorian. Her average for the four years was 93.06 per cent. The salutatorian, a white girl, had an average of 91 per cent.

¶ The Louisa Brown Home for Colored Working Girls was opened in Ann Arbor, Michigan November 13, 1929. Mrs. Samuel L. Elliott is organizer and Executive Secretary.

¶ In a seventeen-day campaign, the Supreme Liberty Life Insurance Company of Chicago wrote $1,039,560 worth of new insurance.

¶ The Reverend Russell H. Brown, mentioned in a recent number of THE CRISIS, after a term of ten months, has retired from the City Council of Cleveland, Ohio. During his service, he gained the confidence of the Council and the respect of the citizens.

¶ Allison Oglesby has painted "The Return from the Nightshift" on exhibition at the annual exhibition of Michigan artists recently held at the Detroit Institute of Arts. This is he third year that he has had his paintings hung. He is a night clerk in the postal service of Detroit.

¶ Negro citizens of St. Louis have raised over $16,000 for the Community Chest.

¶ Two hundred women attended the 12th annual council of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority in St. Louis. Mrs. M. B. Bousfield of Chicago was elected as the new Basileus. Miss Hazel E. Brown of Kansas City was given the annual $1,000 Fellowship. She will study for a Ph.D. degree in English in England. Miss Brown is a Phi Beta Kappa of Kansas University and has her Master's degree.

¶ The *Pittsburgh Courier* was founded March 10, 1910 and is celebrating this month its 10th Anniversary. In honor of the occasion it has installed its own press in a new home at 2628 Center Avenue, Pittsburgh.

¶ George A. Myers is dead in Cleveland. He was a celebrated barber with a shop in the Hollenden Hotel.

¶ Eugene P. Southall received the degree of Master of Arts in History at the 158th convention of the University of Chicago. His thesis was on "Arthur Tappan and the Anti-Slavery Movement." He is a colored man from Norfolk, Virginia.

¶ William R. Morris, a graduate and former teacher of Fisk University, and one of the best known lawyers of the Northwest, committed suicide in Minneapolis in January. Mr. Morris had long been ill from nervous overexertion. He was 71 years old and a man of fine character and extraordinary ability. His brother, Edward Morris of Chicago, is also a well-known attorney.

¶ The Victory Life Insurance Company of Chicago, Illinois, reports new business for 1929 amounting to $6,971,973.

SOUTH EAST

¶ A campaign has been begun in Savannah, Ga., to raise $50,000 to complete a charity hospital in the southern section of the city. The Rosenwald Fund has promised to supply a part of the cost and Mrs. Henry W. Hodge of New York City will give 50c for each dollar subscribed.

¶ Dr. George P. Phenix, has been made Principal of Hampton Institute to succeed Dr. James E. Gregg. Dr. Phenix was born in Maine in 1864 and is a graduate of Colby. He came to Hampton in 1904 and has been there ever since.

¶ In the eight Episcopal districts of the Georgia Diocese of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, there was raised during 1929, $65,000 in cash for educational purposes.

¶ Dr. Willis J. King, a professor in Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia, has received a Rosenwald Fellowship for six months of post-graduate study at Oxford University. Dr. King is a graduate of Wiley and has done post-graduate work in Boston University. For eleven years, he has been at Gammon.

¶ Dr. E. P. Johnson is dead at Atlanta. He was pastor of the Reed Street Baptist Church and for years has been a gentle and well-known figure among Atlanta Negroes.

¶ The Chamber of Commerce of Salisbury, N. C., has given $10,000 to Livingston College.

MIDDLE SOUTH

¶ The Jackson, Miss. *Daily News* declares editorially: "The plain and brutal truth is that we have never given equal or adequate educational opportunity to the Negro children of our state." Of Mississippi public funds, less than $6 a year per child is spent for Negro children and $26 a year for white children. Sixty per cent of the school population is colored, and this 60 per cent gets 20 per cent of the school fund, while the white 40 per cent gets 80 per cent of the school fund.

¶ Tougaloo College, Miss., has completed a building fund of $120,000. Of this, $33,333 came from the General Education Board; $25,000 from the American Missionary Association, and $8,000 from the Julius Rosenwald Fund. This fund will pay for a boy's dormitory, three residence bungalows, a small hospital, a practice housekeeping home and a laundry.

¶ L. T. Holt, a Negro railway clerk of Nashville, was in a recent wreck on the L. and N. railroad at Trafford, Ala. Although weak from the loss of blood, he clutched the top of a pile of registered mail amid overturned cars and the groans of the injured. "I must wait for relief," he said, in spite of the fact that his broken ribs were protruding through his sides.

¶ A new colored Community Center is being established by the Presbyterians at New Orleans under the Rev. U. D. Mooney, a white man. It will be modeled after the Little Mission in Louisville.

¶ Frank J. Myles, supervisor of writing and drawing in the colored Nashville public schools, was recently made Chairman of the Membership Committee for Tennessee in the National Association of Penmanship Teachers and Supervisors.

¶ The Zeta Phi Beta Sorority recently met in Nashville, Tennessee with representatives from twenty-seven chapters. Mrs. Ruth T. Scruggs was elected Basileus.

¶ Dr. J. Edmund Wood, President of the unincorporated branch of the colored Baptists, is dead. He was born in Kentucky in 1867. For thirty-one years he was pastor of the First Baptist church of Danville, Kentucky.

¶ S. D. Redmond, whom a prejudiced judge in Mississippi sought to disbar, has won complete vindication before the Supreme Court of Mississippi.

PACIFIC COAST

¶ Near Las Cruces, New Mexico, Negroes have entered 25,600 acres of government land. These lands need irrigation and the white cattlemen are trying to starve the Negroes out. The Negroes are seeking money to dig artesian wells.

¶ The Attorney-General of the State of California is being asked to rule on the right of a school board to segregate Mexican children from other children in one of the Santa Barbara public schools.

¶ Mary Anderson is the first colored girl to be admitted for nurse training at the University of California Hospital, San Francisco. She is domiciled in the nurses home and is only eighteen

years of age. She is a niece of Garland Anderson, the playwright.

¶ A suit is pending in California against the *San Francisco News*, which, in describing a well-known saloon on the "Barbary Coast", referred to the proprietor as "a Portuguese Negro". He sued the newspaper for $50,000 because it called him a Negro.

¶ Robert L. Polk of Los Angeles has been given a Carnegie Hero medal of bronze and $1,000 for saving the lives of two deputy sheriffs when three convicts were seeking to escape.

¶ Under a ruling handed down by Superior Judge Vicini, Los Angeles, Cal., Mrs. Sallie Trainor is forbidden to occupy her own property at 160 East 45th Street, or to permit any person who is not a Caucasian to live there for the next ninety-nine years. This was a decision in an action brought by neighbors for an injunction to compel the observance of race restriction by contract in this area.

WEST INDIES

¶ Edward S. Richardson, Postmaster at St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, was born in Georgia in 1888; educated at Atlanta University, and worked for seven years as teacher under the American Missionary Association. He married Pearl Grigsby, a graduate of Smith College. They have one child, a boy. Mr. Richardson was appointed Postmaster in the fall of 1929. His office acts as an exchange office for the sister islands of St. John and St. Croix, as well as for the British, French and Dutch West Indies. There is a force of eight: the Postmaster, six clerks, and the janitor, with no carriers. Mrs. Richardson has been asked to teach in the high school.

¶ The Panama Canal Zone Bar Association admits Negro members. At the last election, L. S. Carrington, a colored native of Barbadoes, was elected treasurer and W. C. Todd, a native of Nigeria, West Africa and a graduate of Lincoln and the University of Michigan, was made a member of the executive committee.

WEST AFRICA

¶ F. E. Cholerton, of the American Advisory Committee on Education in Liberia, is to succeed the late James L. Sibley. Cholerton has been making a study of education at Tuskegee and the Penn School. He apparently knows nothing of Howard, Fisk, Atlanta, Talladega and such institutions.

¶ The National Congress of British West Africa has held its 4th session at Lagoes, Nigeria. It sent greetings to American Negroes by cable to THE CRISIS.

¶ The Catholic Vicar Apostolic of the Belgium Upper Congo has been protesting against forced labor in the Congo. Few labor recruits are obtained voluntarily, and in some cases, nearly every man of the specified age is taken from the villages to work for the concessionary companies away from home.

¶ Miss Charity Zomelo, a native girl from the Gold Coast, British West Africa, has completed the course at the Summit High School, New Jersey. She has been educated by the Reverend Florence Randolph.

¶ The disturbances in South Eastern Nigeria where brave British troops killed black women, have not been yet thoroughly explained. The government of Nigeria summoned the editors of the local press and warned them of "grave consequences" if they should print too much. So far as can be learned, the trouble came through an attempt to lay a head tax on women. The women, ten thousand strong, destroyed over $50,000 worth of property; raided the government offices; broke open the prison and liberated 30 prisoners. Most of the white people ran away pell-mell and they then brought in white and Negro troops armed with Lewis machine guns. Lieutenant R. N. Hill was the distinguished officer who led the troops and gave the command to fire. Eight women were wounded; nineteen women and one man killed by gun fire and ten women died of wounds.

¶ The French claim that they have at last stopped the decrease in population in Equatorial French Africa. Since 1921, the number of doctors and nurses has been doubled, and the budget increased from $100,000 to over $400,000. Two million four hundred and three thousand natives have been examined and 98,000 treated for sleeping sickness.

SOUTH AFRICA AND AUSTRALIA

¶ Australia is having trouble with her immigrants. By national law, she will allow no colored immigrants, neither Mongolians nor Negroes. Now she is dissatisfied with the kind of white people that are coming in. Among her inhabitants are 55,000 colored Maoris, and the *Australian Worker* suggests a separate Maori state.

¶ On a Peninsular and Oriental boat sailing from Australia to England, there were Australians, New Zealanders and Maoris, who were exceedingly friendly. At Durban and Capetown, a number of South Africans joined the ship and immediately there was trouble. Some of the South Africans refused to go to the tables; others refused to play in the deck games. They sent deputations to the Captain and several times fights were imminent. At last, the Captain gave way and segregated the Maoris at separate tables in the dining room.

¶ The unrest among the natives of South Africa still continues. The latest seat of trouble has been Carnarvon and East London, Cape Colony. The natives are threatening to strike for higher wages and there have been many attempts at sabotage on the railroads.

¶ The government of the Union of South Africa has purchased the Bushman paintings collected by Dr. Leo Frobenius. They have made him a grant of $25,000 for these paintings and for further research work.

EAST AFRICA

¶ Little wars in Africa still go on but are beneath the notice of large news agencies. There is continued fighting in the Nuer country of the Egyptian Sudan, and in the Nuba hills "minor operations" have been made against Chief LaFofa.

¶ An Italian, Alberto Prasso, has obtained concessions for platinum mining in Abyssinia. He has floated a company in Paris with a capital of $360,000.

Ira Aldrich as Othello

YOUTHPORT

For Juniors of the N. A. A. C. P.

EFFIE LEE NEWSOME, *Critic*

Editor: Agnes J. Laws
Assistant Editors: Elizabeth Carter, Alda Taylor
Art Editor: Eleanor Paul

THE STORY OF RONALD JOSEPH

IT was not until I was eleven years old that I knew what my mother looked like. When I was very young she decided to come to the United States but could not afford to take me with her; a childless couple, friends of hers, Mr. and Mrs. Theophilus Joseph, adopted me. This was in St. Kitts in 1910. A short while after the Josephs moved to the Island of Dominica where we stayed for ten years. In 1921, my foster parents also decided to come to the United States and it was then that I saw my mother.

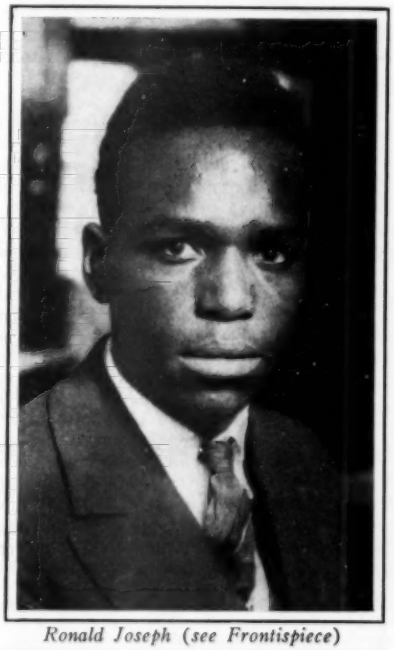
When I came to America, she had nothing to say against the way my foster parents had brought me up—there was no suggestion that I return to her. I live with my foster parents and pay weekly visits to my mother.

My foster parents have done what they can to give me an education. The last two and half years of my high school period were spent in a private school, the Fieldston School of Ethical Culture, where I had obtained an Art Scholarship. The hours were so arranged that it was not possible for me to work during the school term. I worked during the summer and was financed by my parents during the school term.

I obtained an art scholarship through Dr. Henry Fritz. I became acquainted with Dr. Fritz through my art teacher in public school. She heard that Dr. Fritz was opening a Saturday art class for children sponsored by the School Art League and sent me to him. I was taken into the class; I was the only colored boy in it. At our sixth annual exhibition a whole wall of the room in the Metropolitan Museum was set aside for my work only. This happened at the same time that I completed my art course in high school.

I am now trying to get a scholarship to the Yale School of Fine Arts but would also like to get either a job as helper in an artist's studio or as an illustrator in order to work my way through Yale.

If I do get into Yale, after I leave there I should like to do imaginative work. I shall not try to copy anyone, just working my own way and using my own ideas.



Ronald Joseph (*see Frontispiece*)

The above is the autobiography of Ronald Joseph, who recently exhibited 60 charcoal watercolors and crayon drawings at the Metropolitan Museum. Dr. Henry E. Fritz arranged annually to have the work of the 30 most gifted children which he has found exhibited. Joseph is the first pupil of Dr. Fritz who has done work which merited an individual section. He is, as Dr. Fritz believes, the first reward which the city has received for the select experimental class in art which Dr. Fritz organized six years ago. Ronald Joseph is not only interested in art; he is an athlete, winning second place recently in the inter-scholastic high jump; is gentle in manner, and has always been interested in drawings. He says in a recent interview:

"Some things stand out very clearly about my drawing, because I used to annoy people so," he said. "In school the kids would draw ships on their slates. They'd begin by drawing a diagram of the kitchen. Instead of leaving them alone I'd run around and say, 'You don't see a ship that way.'

"From the time I was very little I used to want to draw things in the market place, the bright colors, the feeling in the heat."

Recently, William Pickens, Field Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P., lectured at the Lincoln School, New York City. He talked on the subject of races. The children were much interested and asked questions. Among other things, Mr. Pickens showed how the present conditions in Africa are the result of generations of slave trading and exploitation. After his lecture, the teacher found on her desk the following poem written by one of the students. The teacher writes: "Isn't it rather a challenge to those who think fourteen and fifteen year old boys and girls do only childish things?"

Remorse

By IVRIA ADELBLUM

WE stole you from the jungle,
From the swaying palms
And the singing birds.
We robbed you of your happiness;
We crushed your spirit
And numbed your soul.
We brought you to a world of trouble.
We took away your freedom
And made you slaves.
So that we might sing and dance,
Someone had to do our labor.
Now we have freed you;
But we keep you apart,
Because you are black, and we are white.
There's a tall thick wall between us.
We robbed you, used you,
And dropped you by the wayside.

* * * * * *

You might have cleared the tangled jungle,
With its tall slim trees
And its chattering monkeys.
You might have tamed your land,
And turned it into a beautiful country.
We stole you from it all.
I am ashamed.

BACKGROUND

Is background necessary for the cold cut profile of the cameo or the more merging outline of the bas-relief? It is background that sustains them. So potent is setting!

(*Will you please turn to page* 106)

PENN COLLEGE LIBRARY
OSKALOOSA, IOWA

Postscript
by W. E. B. Du Bois

PATIENT ASSES

I MET my friend one morning on Seventh Avenue as we were hurrying opposite ways to our work. She asked:

"Did you attend the Smuts lecture?"

I did not.

She said: "He does not strike me as sincere."

I quite agreed with her.

And then she said: "You were wise in advocating Pan-Africanism."

I thanked her. I was glad that she saw the point. I wished again, as I have often wished, that other people would see it. Here was a statesman from the Union of South Africa. Effort was made before his visit to the United States to commit the colored people to support of him and his policy in order that their action might influence their colored brethren in South Africa. As he was about to arrive, a movement was put on foot to get colored leaders to sign a laudatory address and thank Jans Smuts for his South African Negro program! This was fortunately blocked. Then a quiet conference was arranged in Washington by the Phelps Stokes Fund in which the program was confined to carefully restricted discussion of the American race problem and arranged so as to include no single Negro who had been in South Africa or had expert knowledge of the South African situation.

IN the meantime, however, Mr. Smuts, himself, supplied a good deal of missing information. He had no sooner opened his mouth at Town Hall, New York City, than he put his own foot deeply and completely in it. He compared Negroes to patient asses and wanted them to dance and sing! Negroes have been more patient than most asses and asses do not usually dance and sing. Indeed, the animals that dance and sing best are the least patient with demagogues like Smuts.

Dr. Moton of Tuskegee, who among a half-dozen Negro leaders sat upon the platform, was the only one who had the courage to challenge Smuts then and there. We congratulate him upon the deed.

My dear Dr. Du Bois:

I have been wanting a long time to thank you for your beautiful tribute to my brother, Moorfield Storey, in the December Crisis. He himself would have said it was too much—that he did not deserve it. But I think he did—as much as any man could deserve such high praise, for his heart was with you in the struggle against injustice and barbarity. I believe the last argument he made in any court was before the Supreme Court and in defence of Negro rights. His voice and manner were always so quiet that I do not think people realized how deeply rooted his feelings were on the side of the oppressed. I think it was perhaps his legal training which made him unwilling to appeal to emotion—but always to the people's sense of justice, and to their recognition of actual facts. He was not an orator. But he felt a deep disappointment in the lack of response that he met with everywhere—the settled indifference to any abuses—no matter what. I have been reading his Life of Sumner lately, and now I am reading your John Brown—I am more interested than in anything I have read for a long time. When it was published, I could not use my eyes and so only glanced over it, and now I am carried away by it. It is an epic like a Greek tragedy. It made me sick at heart last summer to see that book "John Brown's Body". I couldn't read it. I am glad you are interested in Single Tax. I think it possibly would be the solution of many problems if it could be adopted,—the Southern problem—and prohibition and war —for it would take the power from the ruling class. I feel sad for America. . . .

Mariana T. Storey.

Smuts explained. He meant nothing derogative. He was complimenting Negroes. That is Smuts all over! Shrewd, wary, insincere, distrusted throughout South Africa by black and white, Boer and Briton, desperately trying to pose in Europe and America as a great Liberal and forever damned by his determination to keep black folk in eternal subjection to white, while salving the fools with fair words. Herzog, his opponent and the present Premier, is at least sincere. He is as narrow in his "Nigger" hatred as Smuts, but his narrowness is lack of knowledge and not deliberate and suave hypocrisy. Herzog wants to learn. Smuts will never learn. He knows it all now.

AND he ought to know it. He and his party established the color caste of South Africa in its present form. From the founding of the Union of South Africa until 1924, Smuts has been a member of the Cabinet and often Prime Minister. During this time he helped establish and vigorously defended the following caste system for black men:

1. Disfranchisement of all persons of Negro descent, except in Cape Colony, and even there Negro voters can not vote for Negro candidates.

2. Disarming the natives by excluding them from the militia.

3. Depriving natives of their land and prohibiting them from buying land except in restricted areas. This legislation gave a million and a half whites 87 per cent of the land and five million natives 13 per cent.

4. Excluding Negroes from the Civil Service.

5. "Jim Crow" regulations for railroads and public buildings. There are separate Post Offices for blacks, either at the back of the white Post Office or underground. Even here, no native clerk is employed and natives must take off their hats when entering any public building. In some cases they cannot walk on the sidewalk.

6. Direct taxation on natives, at the rate of $5 to $10 a year and using most of this money for the benefit of the whites, who pay no poll tax.

7. Educational facilities are so meagre that 95 per cent of the natives are illiterate. In the Transvaal for a long time the government grant to native schools was about the same sum as they expended for the upkeep of animals in the Pretoria Zoo.

8. The pass system which compells every native to be registered and carry a pass without which he is subject to arrest and imprisonment.

Some of these regulations do not apply to persons of mixed blood and educated natives not living in tribes, but even for them the caste discrimination and restrictions are humiliating and disgraceful and make South Africa the worst place on earth for colored folk to live.

Conceive what would happen to an Englishman who had treated Irishmen in this way and who came to the United States to lecture? How many Irishmen would be sitting on his platform grinning at him? We certainly are patient asses. We shall never secure emancipation from the tyranny of the white oppressor until we have achieved it in our own souls.

HOW much might have been accomplished for the advantage of Africa and the reputation of American Negroes if we had with quiet dignity refused to sit on Smuts' platform and to go into conference with him except on the clear understanding that we would be perfectly free to demand from him an explanation of South African conditions and his part in making them. Why was it not perfectly in order for some member of that conference to ask Jan Smuts courteously but firmly why he had deliberately lied at Town Hall and told a questioner that an American Negro could buy land and live in South Africa?

Meantime, can not everyone see how necessary it is for persons of Negro descent in all parts of the world to understand their respective problems? How humiliating to see prominent American Negro leaders put themselves in a position to appear as catspaws against the plain wishes and interests of their blood brothers in Africa!

THE problems of Negroes differ, to be sure, the world over in many intricate and vital respects, but at bottom, they are the same: the political disfranchisement of Negro blood; the distortion of the facts of Negro history and accomplishment; racial discrimination in everyday life; limitation of education so as to increase black serfdom and white profits: "Jim-Crow" policies of all sorts and personal insult based on color of skin.

The degree in which these various disabilities are applied differs in different countries and at different times, but they are all present in some degree in every Negro group. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that these groups understand each other; that British Negroes stop criticizing and sneering at American Negroes; that American Negroes realize what British Negroes are accomplishing and enduring; that South Americans and West Indians cease making a white skin their one clear ideal; that African Negroes keep in close touch with their cousins overseas, and that all Negroes look toward the Black World in an effort to be intelligent and thoughtful and helpful in the development of the black folk of all lands.

This does not involve in the slightest degree any attempt needlessly and ignorantly to interfere in the government or self-development or self-determination of the different groups or any widespread migration; but it does call for intelligence and co-operation in every possible way and on the broadest scale.

This is the deep and unanswerable demand for a Pan-African movement. Who will respond?

OUR ECONOMIC PERIL

FORTUNATELY, the attention of thinkers, black and white, is being drawn to the economic crisis which faces the American Negro. Norman Thomas, the white leader of American Socialists, writing in the *New Leader,* said recently:

Jim Crow cars, poor schools, segregation, bad housing and exclusion from industrial opportunity make up the tale of the Negroes' woes against which there is a rising tide of justifiable resentment. If anything, lack of economic opportunity in trades is growing worse and not better. This is in part a byproduct of technological unemployment which increases the pressure for jobs; in part it is due to racial prejudice. There is, for instance, a shift in the South from colored to white barbers and waiters. I have previously referred to the outrageous action of a local of the Upholsterers' Union here in New York in refusing a card to a Negro carpet layer on account of his color. Unions that follow this practice kill their own soul.

It does not take much of a prophet to foresee the coming of a time when at last the white mill hands will strike against intolerable conditions. In the South many of the mills, especially those owned by Northern capital, will turn to Negroes. Economic war will be heightened by racial feeling. The only way to avert such fate is to organize Negro workers as well as white workers and to assert an economic solidarity now before it is too late.

George S. Schuyler, writing in the New York *Times,* says, on the other side:

Comforting as is the idea of a self-sufficient group economy for the Negro to white people wedded to the ideal of racial separatism, we must face the facts of the situation. What the Negro needs now is not for a few philanthropists to give money to Negro schools and stop there, but for these same philanthropists, who own and control the industry and commerce of the country, to lower the color bars in their stores, factories, mills, warehouses and so forth, thus enabling the Negroes whom they have helped to educate to make a decent living and advance in the social and economic scale, not as Negroes but as Americans.

Meantime, neither the Trade Unionists nor the Philanthropists are making any real movement to lift the Negro permanently away from starvation. The only way that the Negro can accomplish this through his own efforts is to begin with consumers' co-operation. This is the reason that we have been devoting so much space lately in THE CRISIS to explaining this road to economic independence. Negroes have tried it several times and have failed or succeeded for obvious reasons. Chain grocery stores in Memphis failed because they were not really co-operative; they became organized for private profit and could not meet the competition of white chain stores. Efforts in Philadelphia for the purchase of coal or other articles failed.

On the other hand, the students' co-operative store at Bluefield has been extraordinarily successful, not simply as a store, but as a school of business training. In New York City, there has been widespread buying of multiple homes on a co-operative basis. Some have failed; some have had fair success; a few have been very successful. There is no reason why with thought and study a large measure of success can not be obtained.

Meantime, educated Negroes should listen carefully to the words of two men: Benjamin Stolberg, a white man, has recently emphasized the fact that the Negro problem is essential and primarily a labor problem and the next steps must be in the direction of labor organization. Abram Harris, a colored professor of Howard University, emphasizes in this number of THE CRISIS, the attitude of trade unions and the clear path which Negro labor must follow.

BARBADOES

SEVERAL Barbadians have written me concerning a paragraph in the January CRISIS. The paragraph said that in Barbados "Negroes have no chance to own land and are used as a reservoir of common labor." This statement was, of course, too sweeping—if interpreted as meaning that no persons of Negro descent in all Barbadoes owned land. Naturally, there are many landowners, merchants and civil service employees of Negro descent in that

island. But for the mass the situation is this: There are 106,470 acres on which a population of 169,385 are living. Much of this land is monopolized by large plantations and absentee landholders for the raising of sugar-cane, cotton and other crops. That means that the great mass of the people are not able to buy or rent land at any reasonable price and can not become peasant-proprietors, as for instance, in Jamaica. For this reason, thousands of them have migrated from time to time and Barbadians have been the chief laborers on such great works as the Panama Canal. Their work has been important and valuable, but wretchedly paid because of the necessity of selling their labor at a low price.

We were referring to these facts in the paragraph mentioned.

THE COURTESY LIST

I HAVE for some time been meaning to publish a list of those American publishers and periodicals which capitalize the word "Negro". The following list is admittedly incomplete, but it is worth scanning:

The Atlantic Monthly
The Century Magazine
The American Mercury
The New Republic
The Nation
The Virginia Quarterly
The New York World
The Herald-Tribune
The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences
The United States Census
The Macmillan Company
Doubleday, Doran and Company
Duffield and Company
Harcourt, Brace and Company
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

There are doubtless other names that ought to be included here which I do not now recall. Will my friends remind me? Meantime, let us not forget that the following institutions persist in what must now be regarded as a deliberate insult to twelve million Americans:

The New York Times
The New York Sun
The Dictionary of American Biography
The Encyclopedia Britannica.
The U. S. Government Printing Office.

AN APPOINTMENT

THE appointment of Charles S. Johnson as the American representative on the commission which is to inquire into slavery in Liberia is a step of unusual significance. The United States Government has been extremely wary in allowing itself to be represented officially by an American of Negro descent. To be sure, we have had ministers in the past to Haiti and Liberia, but these representatives concerned only the two countries directly. If our memory is not deceived, never before in an international commission, where a body like the League of Nations is represented by white men, has the United States nominated a colored man to represent this country. President Hoover deserves credit, not simply for the appointment, but for the character and ability of the man whom he appointed. Mr. Johnson, together with representatives of the League of Nations, and a representative of the government of Liberia, will investigate the widespread charge of the existence of slavery in Liberia.

THE BOYCOTT

SIDE by side with consumers' cooperation, and of greater initial importance because it can so easily be put into force, stands the boycott as a weapon which American Negroes can use for their economic defense. Boycotting consists of concerted refusal to trade with a particular store or firm until it meets a group's wishes in respect to treatment, conditions of work, personnel, prices, etc. In America, it has to be used with care and under careful legal advice because merchants and manufacturers have so hedged themselves about with laws that boycotters may find themselves open to prosecution for interfering with the firm's profits!

Nevertheless, the method can be and has been widely used. The Consumers' League has brought pitiless publicity to bear upon firms which mistreat and underpay their employees. And recently, in Chicago, the *Chicago Whip*, a paper owned and conducted by Negroes, has been carrying on a widespread campaign to compel firms catering to Negro trade in the Chicago black belt to hire Negro clerks.

This touches a matter of deep injustice to Negroes. Not only in Chicago, but in practically all large cities, like New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Indianapolis, not to mention all Southern towns and cities, the white storekeepers in the Negro districts monopolize the Negro retail trade, often neglect and even grossly mistreat and cheat their colored customers, and to cap the injustice, hire no colored help. Personal treatment of the colored customer in later years has greatly improved, but with few exceptions, the independent firms and particularly the chain stores, insist on putting white clerks and managers over their black belt stores.

This is a double injustice. First and foremost, it cuts down tremendously the opportunities for work among trained colored workers, and secondly, it establishes an impossible economic caste.

To combat this, there is one tremendous and most effective weapon. The colored people have a right, after ascertaining the facts, to agree among themselves not to trade with certain stores until they either get better treatment or until the stores hire colored clerks, or until other changes in policy are made. Sometimes, the attack should be directed toward the kind of goods sold in the black belt. It is common custom in New York, for instance, to dump old and spoiled goods in the colored district and sell them at high prices.

The success of the campaign carried on by the *Chicago Whip* has apparently been most encouraging. It began with a survey of the South side business concerns of all types which depend partially or solely upon colored people for support. This showed an easy possibility of openings for seven thousand colored employees in these establishments. After this, an investigator carefully counted the white and colored patrons of the different places in the course of the day for a period of time, until it was possible to determine the volume of colored business. A representative of the newspaper then approached the proprietor. He pointed out the trade that he was getting from colored people; the fact that neither he nor his clerks lived in the district; that they did not deposit their money in colored banks; that they did not patronize colored restaurants; or other colored enterprises. In other words, that they were content to take all and leave nothing.

The replies of the merchants were taken down and published by the *Whip*. The *Whip* then proceeded to get the aid of churches, clubs, organizations and prominent people, and held monthly meetings. The result of five months of this campaign was that over 400 people secured positions directly through the office of the *Whip* and some 600 indirectly. "The goal set by the *Chicago Whip* is five thousand positions before the spring of 1930!"

This is but the beginning. Public accommodations, like telephones and street cars, should be attacked. Meter readers for electric light and gas companies should be demanded. Large manufacturers should be confronted with the facts. All this propaganda must have back of it the organized determination of large numbers of colored people to withdraw their patronage from recalcitrant merchants, unless they yield.

WHERE IS YOUR BOY?

He is in a big city and you cannot keep him out of it; but you can see that he has a decent place to live in, proper food, and good companions. Write and tell him about the

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

There are 78 colored Y.M.C.A.'s in the United States; 30 of these have dormitories. The following associations are supporting this advertisement:

DENVER, COLORADO
Glenarm Branch, 2800 Glenarm St.
With dormitory

NEW YORK, N. Y.
181 W. 135th Street, *With dormitory*

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA
Center Avenue Branch, Center Ave. at Francis St., *With dormitory*

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
Druid Hill Avenue Branch, 1619 Druid Hill Avenue, *With dormitory*

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
Dryades Street Branch, 2220 Dryades St.

HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA
Forster Street Branch, 628 Forster St.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
Hunton Branch, 1618 Church St.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
2763 Wabash Avenue, *With dormitory*

"Perhaps a dozen people have said to me since the appearance of the Crisis ad., 'I had no idea of the extent and scope of the work of the Y. M. C. A. among the colored people.' This as frequent from white people as from colored. The effect of this in creating a feeling of dignity and pride on the part of the membership in a nation-wide and forward looking organization, will in my opinion, be fruitful of results all out of proportion to the expense involved, looked at from a purely commercial viewpoint. I make no apology to anybody for looking at it from this angle."

FRITZ CANZLER.

Race Crossings

(*Continued from page* 82)

statistics were: the fact of an undiminishing birth-rate, only a moderate number of deaths from pulmonary troubles, and a favorable amount of property owned in relation to the salaries of the wage earners.

However, the most significant, to the average reading citizen, would probably be those figures which show the cultural and educational achievements of the group. Representatives from 50 of these families have had European travel, 20 have the degree of Master of Arts, 5 have the degree of Ph. D., and 5 are Phi Beta Kappa members out of 40 who have attended colleges where it is granted. There are many others who are without degrees, yet who are teachers and professional persons of great influence and high standing in their respective communities.

Yet, this study was by no means attempted as any proof of the superiority of the mixed blood over the full-blooded Negro. In fact interesting comparisons have occurred all through the compilation of the data, to refute such a theory. The two wealthiest men of the group were, one almost white and one almost black; and again two of the most intellectual, were exact opposites as to color and type.

However, some of the older theories concerning mulattoes do seem to be refuted by the data concerning this group. One is, that in the third generation mulattoes become infertile, another that the mental and physical calibre of mulattoes is inferior to either parent stock. Perhaps, most vicious of all is the popular supersitition that two fair colored people or one colored person fair enough to be mistaken for white, and a white person, are apt to produce a black child. We have found no evidence to prove the truth of any of these theories.

N. A. A. C. P.

(*Continued from page* 86)

It is held in the state that had for one of its foremost sons, the first President of the N. A. A. C. P. This year and this conference are an opportunity. The opportunity is for colored Americans and for all those to whom the work of the Association is significant, to show that what has been accomplished is appreciated, that it has really taken hold of people's imaginations.

What is now in prospect, as the N. A. A. C. P. enters upon its majority, is a condition which the Civil War only forecast. Probably more ground has been won since the Civil War than in all the time preceding it. And the condition which is now beginning to cast its light before, is one in which all men shall be given opportunity on a human, not a color, basis. In the progress which has been made, and it is an immense progress, the N. A. A. C. P. has been a pioneer. It remains to be seen whether the gains can be consolidated, the advance assured, the work gloriously begun carried to fruition. This is the opportunity and the challenge offered by the Moorfield Storey-Louis Marshall Memorial Campaign for the year 1930. Let no one ever complain of his lot if, having the opportunity to contribute to this work, he now fails to do all in his power.

H. J. S.

"Jim Crow" Travel

(*Continued from page* 88)

whites." At that time a crowd began to collect and a cop whom the agent called came up and yelled at me as if I were inhuman, to get out at once. I was very nervous by that time and remembering what a lady member of my race suffered at the hands of white ruffians at Palatka during the winter and not knowing anyone in Deland to protect me, I got out. There was no

way for me to reach Daytona Beach by rail except via an out-of-the-way route, but I had to resort to it. By inquiring at the colored section I got a gentleman to drive me to Lake Helen, where I had to wait a long time for a train, which would bring me to New Smyrna. When I reached there I found I could not leave there until 2 A. M. for Port Orange, so although it was then dark, I found out how to reach friends there, who brought me home.

THE President of Fisk University and I were traveling with a quartet to raise money for the Institution. It was during the holidays. We were making the leading cities in Oklahoma, Texas and Louisiana. In order to make a heavy schedule, we were taking late trains and transferring to our next point over night. The members of the quartet had been riding the day coach at night. The weather was crisp and the men had contracted colds.

In transferring from Houston to New Orleans, we decided to secure Pullman accommodations and take the risk. It was inter-state traffic and the written law was in our favor. We purchased two sections. The President and I were to ride in the uppers and the members of the quartet in the lowers. Our great desire was to protect the health of the young men and as a consequence guarantee good musical programs for the audiences we were meeting.

When we took our Pullman in Houston, we found the beds had not been "made down." Hence, it became necessary for the members of the quartet to sit where they could be observed by the occupants of the car. To our regret, we discovered there was a very narrow, prejudiced, "fire-eating" person riding the car. When he discovered four young colored men on the car, "he went up in the air." He gazed at them as if they were strange animals from some jungle. At once he began agitation among the passengers, trying to get the young men put out of the car.

I went into the smoker and found the man "storming" over the situation. He asked, "who brought those men on this train?"

I replied, "The President of the University they represent and I are travelling with them in the interest of the college. They have been riding the open coaches at night until they are ill. Tonight we brought them on the Pullman to protect our programs."

He said, "Well, I do not know whom I think less of, the men for coming into the coach or the ones who brought them in here. There is a

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law against this in Texas, and I am going to see the men are put off at Beaumont."

I replied, "This is inter-state service and is protected by law."

He said, "I don't believe there is any such law. In Texas it is illegal for colored people to ride on the Pullman."

I sought to appeal to his manhood so I said, "Well, anyway, these men are from a University. They are well educated, are dignified and courteous. I can not see that their being on the car should be objectionable."

The fact they were University men seemed to make him more angry. He said, "Just to think, white people will sleep in those same beds tomorrow night!" His wrath seemed to increase. He rose and as he went out the door, he said, "I'll get my gang together and see what we can do when we reach Beaumont about this. I have some friends there. I'll send word for them to be at the train."

We knew that Beaumont had a bad name in its treatment of colored people. We had a council of war to decide what to do. We decided to "sit-tight" and await results. However, the Pullman conductor came and urged us to do something. He feared trouble. He recommended that we get a drawing room and put the members of the quartet in it.

We finally yielded to his urgent request and transferred the quartet. The irate passenger ceased his plotting. We all went to bed—and to think on the outrage. We decided some people made their own laws regardless of the Constitution or the statutes, that reason and common sense had been dethroned, and that Christianity had been weighed in the balance and found wanting. We cried out with the prophet of old—"Lord, how long?"

College Dramatics

(*Continued from page* 92)

The final argument for college dramatics is, it serves as an audience builder for the worth while legitimate theatres. This, of course, is implied in all the other reasons. It applies, not only to college dramatics, but to the little theatres in general. Since neither is heavily capitalized, they can afford to produce plays that wouldn't make a box office success in the regular professional theatres, and thereby train audiences to appreciate better plays. The audiences, of necessity, will be small at first; but if kept up long enough, it will diffuse into the dense mass that now inhabits the cheaper dens of amusement.

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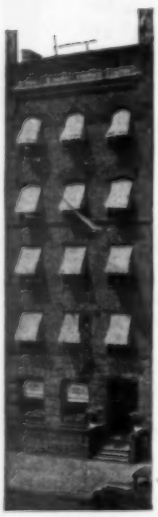

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We are constantly reproaching ourselves because the sheiks and the flappers—the serious and the simple, also—come out of college with no higher theatric appreciation than vaudeville, burlesque, and the cheaper movie houses. If they manifest any interest at all in other plays, it is usually the highly melodramatic or sexy portrayal of life. It is difficult for people to understand that art is not instinctive; and that it is a result of training in appreciation. We appreciate any art in proportion to what we take to it. If we neglect this in college, how can we expect students to come out and flock to the important productions? I have intimated before that the only successful way to teach this appreciation is to supplement our study of theories with the actual experience such as gotten in a dramatic club.

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Youthport

(*Continued from page* 99)

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